NARRATIVE

OF THE

DISCOVERY OF THE FATE

OF

LA PÉROUSE.

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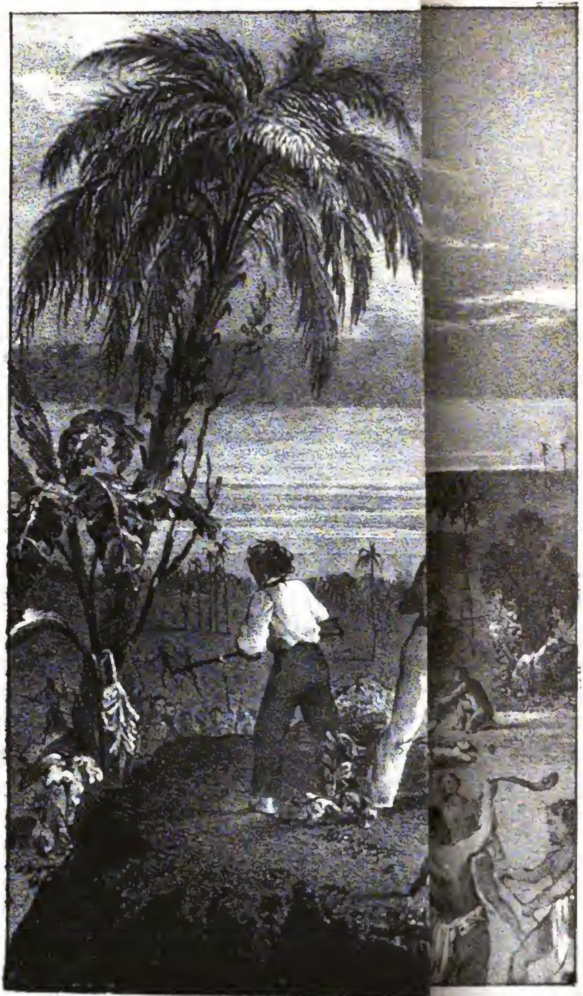

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NARRATIVE

AND

SUCCESSFUL RESULT

OF A

VOYAGE IN THE SOUTH SEAS,

PERFORMED BY ORDER OF THE

GOVERNMENT OF BRITISH INDIA,

TO ASCERTAIN

THE ACTUAL FATE

OF

LA PÉROUSE'S EXPEDITION,

INTERSPERSED WITH

ACCOUNTS OF THE RELIGION, MANNERS, CUSTOMS, AND CANNIBAL PRACTICES

OF THE

SOUTH SEA ISLANDERS.

BY THE

CHEVALIER CAPT. P. DILLON,

Member of the Legion of Honour; of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and of the Geographical Society of Paris:
Commander of the Hon. East-India Company's Ship Research.

IN TWO VOLUMES.
VOL. I.

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1829.

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TO

THE CHAIRMAN,

DEPUTY CHAIRMAN,

AND

COURT OF DIRECTORS

OF THE

Honourable East-India Company,

THIS

SIMPLE BUT FAITHFUL NARRATIVE

OF A

VOYAGE OF DISCOVERY,

PERFORMED BY COMMAND OF

THE SUPREME GOVERNMENT OF BRITISH INDIA,

WHICH HAS THEREBY SECURED THE GRATITUDE OF THE FRENCH NATION,

AND OF THE CIVILIZED WORLD,

BY AN ACT EVINCING A NOBLE REGARD

FOR THE CAUSE OF HUMANITY AND SCIENCE,

CALCULATED TO RENDER NATIONS ILLUSTRIOUS,

AND TO CEMENT THE BONDS OF AMITY BETWEEN STATES,

IS RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED,

BY THEIR MOST OBEDIENT,

AND VERY HUMBLE SERVANT,

PETER DILLON.

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PREFACE.

Amid the numerous books of voyages and travels continually presented to the public, it may be thought difficult for a new work of this kind to obtain attention. But the reader is requested to observe, that this work has many claims to notice quite peculiar to itself. It is not an account of nations which resemble ourselves in manners and civilization, or of countries which had been a hundred times before visited and described; on the contrary, in this voyage the reader is conducted amid the savage tribes of the South Seas, through tracts never before fully explored, and made acquainted with human nature under a new aspect, described from the personal observation of a living witness, who has had ample

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opportunities of studying their characters both in peace and war, and who had nearly fallen a victim to their cannibal propensities.

This voyage also possesses a peculiar interest, from its having solved a question which divided the opinion of the scientific world for a period of forty years. And the discoverer of the fate of La Pérouse, after having effected this discovery, considered that to lay a narrative of the voyage before the public, was a duty he owed to the French as well as to the British nation, and more especially to the Government of British India, under whose auspices it was performed.

As his professional education, studies, and habits of life, have however been hitherto directed to action rather than to the description of the acts of himself or others, he has entered with diffidence on the task of authorship, only when thus imperatively called on to do so, in order

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that the world may be put in possession of a correct account of the important transactions and extraordinary scenes in which he has had the honour to take a part. He does not, therefore, attempt to engage attention by an eloquent style or flowery description, but rests his claim to notice on a simple statement of facts, set forth without ostentation in the unadorned language of a plain seaman. He trusts, therefore, that the reader will not expect from him the niceties of diction which may be justly required of a professed author, but will treat the work with indulgence, as the first essay of an unpractised pen.

In conclusion, the author hopes that these pages will meet with a favourable reception from his professional brethren, who are able from their own experience to judge of the difficulties he had to overcome. The successful result of his labours may teach the unfortunate naviga-

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tor, encountering danger in the cause of science, to bear up *even* amid the greatest calamites: for, on whatever remote island or sequestered shore he may have been thrown, unwearied public sympathy will at last find out the scene of his disasters; and if, unhappily, too late to restore him to his friends and country, it will erect a trophy to his memory and mourn over his untimely fate.

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INTRODUCTION.

THE war which broke out between England and France in June 1778, having been succeeded by the re-establishment of peace in 1783, his most Christian Majesty, the unfortunate Louis the XVIth, took advantage of this happy interval, to follow the example set by England, in undertaking voyages of discovery to extend the bounds of geographical knowledge. His most Christian Majesty and the French nation having determined to contribute their share in enlarging our acquaintance with the surface of the globe, and its inhabitants, they ordered an expedition to be fitted out for that purpose in 1785, consisting of two of the finest frigates in the French service; one named *la Boussole*, the other *l'Astrolabe.* Neither labour nor expense were spared in preparing and completing that expedition, to which were attached some of the most able scientific men in Europe,

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whose names will be seen in the subjoined list of the ships' companies.

To secure the success of this scientific enterprise, it was deemed necessary to select a man of the highest professional talent to command the expedition, and for this purpose la Pérouse was chosen; his distinguished naval exploits, scientific acquirements, and enterprizing character, having pointed him out to his Sovereign and his country as the fittest person to be honoured with the chief command.

John Francis Galaup de la Pérouse was born at the town of Albi, in the South of France, in the year 1741, and received an education at the Marine school; after which he joined the naval service of his country as a midshipman, and highly distinguished himself in the various actions in which he was subsequently engaged. In 1764 he was promoted to the rank of Lieutenant, and made a conspicuous figure in the subsequent wars, in which he attained the rank of Captain.

The French government having determined, in 1782, to destroy the English settlements in Hudson's Bay, the performance

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of this service was entrusted to la Pérouse, who had a seventy-four and two frigates, with several troops, placed at his disposal for the enterprize. Fort-York and the out-ports appertaining to it were destroyed by the French on the 24th of August; the troops were re-embarked, together with Governor Hearne, the English commander of Fort-York, who had become a prisoner of war. It having come to la Pérouse's knowledge that on his approach several of the English had fled into the woods, to secure themselves from falling prisoners into the hands of the invaders, notwithstanding his instructions to destroy the North-west Company's settlements, he did not forget the duty he owed to humanity. For the purpose of alleviating the misfortunes of the fugitives, who had neither food nor shelter left against a severe northern winter, nor arms to defend themselves from the attacks of the savages, this gallant officer generously left them abundant supplies of provisions, arms, and ammunition. This act of benevolence to an enemy's country, even in the heat of war, endeared him to the English mariners, one of whom, in his

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account of a voyage to Botany Bay, writes thus: "That humane and generous man, la "Pérouse, touched here, and ought to be "remembered with gratitude, in England "particularly, for his conduct when ordered "to destroy our settlements in Hudson's "Bay."

Governor Hearne, it may be remembered, was an officer in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company, and in 1772 set out on a land expedition, accompanied by Indians, from Fort-Churchill in Hudson's Bay, to discover the Copper-Mine River. He failed in his first attempt, but proved more successful in the second, after an absence of two years' travelling, during which period he experienced hunger and misery unparalleled. But on his return, after such sufferings, little credit was given to his accounts; the truth of which, however, has since been clearly established, by his enterprizing, and no less indefatigable successor, Captain Franklin, of the Royal Navy.

Governor Hearne's journals of his travels had been seized as public property by the French, with various other effects belonging to the Company; but on his soli-

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citing la Pérouse to restore them as his private property, the Count most generously complied with his request, imposing no other condition on him than that, on his arrival in England, he should give his journals publicity. Though this condition does not appear to have been fulfilled for several years after, this second act of generosity towards an enemy deserves to be recorded in honour of the subject of this narrative, and to shew that, though the subject of a foreign state, which political occurrences have too often taught us to regard as a rival and a foe, he was a man of such enlarged philanthropy of mind, as to deserve that the British empire and the world should sympathize in his unhappy fate.

The following are correct lists of the officers and scientific men embarked on board the expedition:

Crew of la Boussole.

De la Pérouse, commodore of the expedition.
De Clouard, acting as captain to the Count.
D'Escures, lieutenant; drowned at Port François, 13th July 1786.
Boutin, master's mate.

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De Pierrevert, master's mate; drowned at Port François, 13th July 1786.

Colinet, ditto, ditto, ditto.

Mel de Saint Céran, midshipman; discharged at Manilla, 16th April 1787.

De Montarnal, ditto; drowned at Port François, 13th July 1786.

De Roux Darbaud, midshipman.

Frederic Broudon, ditto.

De Monneron, captain in the corps of engineers, engineer in chief.

Bernizet, engineer and geographer.

Rollin, surgeon major.

Lepaute Dagelet, of the Academy of Sciences, professor at the Military School, and astronomer.

De Lamanon, natural philosopher, mineralogist, and meteorologist; murdered by the natives of Maouna, 11th December 1787.

Abbé Monges, regular canon of the Gallican church, natural philosopher and chaplain.

Duché de Vancy, draughtsman of landscapes and figures.

Prévost, jun., botanical draughtsman.

Collignon, gardener and botanist.

Guery, chronometer-maker.

Ninety warrant and petty officers, seamen, and soldiers.

Total number of the crew 110, when the ship sailed from France.

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Crew of l'Astrolabe.

De Langle, post captain, second in command; murdered by the natives at Maouna, 11th December 1787.

De Monti, lieutenant.

Freton de Vaujuas, master's mate.

Diagremont, ditto.

De la Borde Marchainville; ditto, drowned at Port François, 13th July 1786.

Blondela, master's mate.

De la Borde Boutervilliers, midshipman, drowned at Port François, 13th July 1786.

Law de Lauriston, midshipman.

Raxi de Flassan, ditto, drowned at Port François.

Monge, professor at the Military School, astronomer; left at Teneriffe.

De la Martiniere, doctor of physic, and botanist.

Dufresne, naturalist.

Father Receveur, naturalist, and doing the duty of chaplain. Died at Botany Bay, in February 1788, of wounds received at Maouna, when Captain De Langle was killed, and was buried on shore at the former place.

Prévost, the uncle, botanical draughtsman.

Lavaux, surgeon.

Lesseps, Russian vice-consul, interpreter; put on shore at Kamtschatka with la Pérouse's despatches for Paris. This gentleman is now

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living at Paris with the title of viscount, and has been French consul-general at Lisbon for several years past.

Ninety-seven warrant and petty officers, seamen, and soldiers.

Total number of the crew 113, when the ship sailed from France.

Being thus prepared, the expedition sailed from Brest on the 1st of August 1785, and anchored at the Island of Madeira on the 13th. After taking on board some refreshments, the frigate sailed again on the afternoon of the 16th August, and anchored at Teneriffe on the 19th. The men of science were employed on shore in their various pursuits, and the crews in hoisting and stowing away sixty pipes of wine on board of each frigate, with other stores.

On the morning of the 30th August they set sail from Teneriffe, with a fresh breeze from the N.N.E., and crossed the equinoctial line on the 29th September, in the 18th degree of west longitude from Paris.

On the 6th November the frigates anchored between the island of St. Catherine and the coast of Brazil. The Portu-

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guese colony on St. Catherine at that time was supposed by the French navigator to consist of three thousand inhabitants, and four hundred houses. It was found that vessels might approach St. Catherine without difficulty to within four cable-lengths of the land, where there is good anchorage in four fathoms water. Provisions were procured in the greatest abundance. A large ox was bought for eight dollars, a hog of 150 lbs. weight for four dollars, and two turkeys for a single dollar. It was only necessary to cast the net to haul it up full of fish. Oranges were brought on board and sold at the rate of one thousand for less than a dollar.

Having laid in an abundant supply at St. Catherine's, the expedition sailed from thence on the 19th November, and on the 25th January 1786 doubled Cape Horn, with much greater facility than the Count had expected. From thence they proceeded to Conception Bay in Chili. After obtaining refreshments, refitting the ships, &c., the expedition sailed from Conception on the 17th March, and on the 8th April sighted Easter Island, situated in

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latitude 27° 11′ south, and longitude 111° 55′ 30″ west of Paris. Here the ships remained at anchor one day, and again sailed on the 10th, having left the islanders a breed of the most useful animals, such as sheep, goats, pigs, &c.

On the morning of the 28th of May following they sighted Owhyhee, the most frequented of the Sandwich Islands, where the immortal Cook was killed. Here the ships' crews were employed bartering iron hoops, nails, fish-hooks, &c. with the islanders, for hogs, poultry, yams, cocoanuts, bread-fruit, bananas, &c. until the evening of the 1st June, when they bid the Sandwich Islands adieu, and shaped their course for the north-west coast of America.

On the 23d, Mount St. Elias, of Behrings, on the north-west coast of America, was visible from the ships' decks. They spent a few days in exploring this part of the coast, and discovered a port which the Count de la Pérouse named Port des Français, and describes as bearing a great resemblance to the port of Toulon. Here the ships anchored on the 4th July, after

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narrowly escaping shipwreck at its entrance. This danger arose from the wind becoming nearly calm, when a strong flood tide set in with such force as almost to carry the frigates on the rocks near the harbour's mouth.

Count de la Pérouse's remarks upon this accident are: " During the thirty years " that I have followed the sea, I never " saw two vessels so near being lost: and " to have experienced such an event at the " verge of the world would have enhanced " our misfortune. But we had now es- " caped this danger, our long-boats were " quickly hoisted out, and with our kedge " anchors we warped off, so that we were " in six fathoms of water before the tide " had fallen precipitately. Our keel touch- " ed the bottom a few times, but so slightly " as to do the vessel no injury."

From the period of the ships first entering this bay nothing remarkable occurred until the 13th, on which day a dreadful disaster befel twenty-one of the ships' company, who composed the crews of two boats employed in sounding the passage into the bay. The command of this party

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had been given to a very distinguished officer, who incautiously deviated most unfortunately from the strict injunctions laid on him by his very experienced commander. The consequence was, that two of the boats under his command were upset in the surf, and the whole of the crews drowned, consisting of twenty-one persons The Count, with his usual humanity, erected a monument, bearing an appropriate inscription commemorative of the disaster which befel his brave shipmates. On the 30th July the expedition sailed from the Port des Français, which is situated in latitude 58° 37′ north, and longitude 139° 50′ west of Paris; and were employed from that period exploring and surveying the coast of America to the 15th September, at which period the frigates anchored at the Spanish settlement of Monterey, in California. Here they met with a kind reception from the Spanish missionaries: not such a reception as I and my sick crew experienced from the pious English missionaries at New Zealand, as will be hereafter partly explained.

After refreshing the crews, refitting the

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ships, and taking in abundant supplies of provisions, the expedition sailed from Monterey for China on the 24th September, and anchored in Macao roads on the 3d January 1787. In crossing the north Pacific Ocean from California to the port of Macao in China, la Pérouse discovered Necker Island: he also passed a rock during the night, upon which the frigates were in great danger of being lost. They soon after sighted the Island of Assumption, one of the Ladrones, the latitude and longitude of which the Count found to be very erroneously laid down by former navigators. From thence he proceeded to, and determined the latitude and longitude of the Bashee Islands.

After procuring the supplies necessary at Macao, the expedition sailed thence on the 5th February for the Spanish settlement of Manilla, in the island of Luconia, where they anchored on the 28th of the same month. Having been much retarded in their passage by the north-east monsoon in the China seas, they waited at Manilla till the strength of this monsoon was spent, and proceeded from

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thence on the 9th April, for the express purpose of surveying the eastern coast of Tartary. On the passage they touched at the Island of Formosa, the Pescadore Islands, the islands named Botol, Tobaco, Xima, and run along the Island of Kumi, which is one of the Liqueo Islands (or Loochoo) of Captain Hall. The ships shortly after entered the Japanese sea, and sailed along the coast of China, sighted the Island of Quelpaert, and run along the coast of Corea to the northward. They discovered an island in that quarter, which was named by the Count Dagelet Island. Shortly after they sighted some parts of Japan, *viz.* Cape Noto, and the Island Jootsisima, and fell in with several Japanese and Chinese vessels. After sighting the latter island they proceeded towards the coast of Tartary. They made the land in 42° north latitude, and anchored in the bay Deternai on the 23d June, situated in the latitude of 45° 14′ north, and longitude 135° 9′ east.

After sailing from this port they were employed surveying the eastern coast of Tartary, the western coast of Sagaleen,

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and the gulf of that name. They discovered and anchored in several bays on the shores of the Gulf of Sagaleen, and had frequent communication with villages and camps of eastern Tartars. They then discovered a strait which separates the northern islands of Japan, called Jesso, from Oku Jesso. They soon after sighted the Island of Mareekan, and traversed the Kuriles; then shaped their course for Kamtschatka, where they anchored in the bay of St. Peter and St. Paul, on the 7th September. They shortly after received letters from France, which had been forwarded overland by the way of St. Petersburgh and Moscow.

During the Count's stay at Kamtschatka he visited the grave of Captain Clarke, the companion of the immortal Cook on his last voyage, and affixed to it an inscription engraved on copper. He also obtained permission from the Russian authorities to send his interpreter, Viscount Lesseps, to France with despatches.

Having procured such refreshments as Kamtschatska could afford, with an abundant supply of wood and water, the expe-

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dition sailed from thence on the 29th September, and shaped its course to the southward. It was not until the 14th October that they reached the parallels of $37\frac{1}{2}^\circ$ north latitude. They traversed a space of three hundred leagues in quest of land in that parallel, said to have been discovered by the Spaniards in A.D. 1620. Not being able to discover it, the Count continued his course to the southward, and crossed the line, the third time since leaving France, on the 21st November. The expedition then proceeded towards the Navigator Islands, where a dreadful disaster awaited them, which, for the information of such of my readers as are not acquainted with the account of la Pérouse's voyage, I cannot do better than relate in the Count's own words.

"On the 6th December, at three in the "afternoon, the most eastern of the Navi-"gator Islands was visible from the ship's "deck. Night having come on before the "ships could reach the islands, they stood "under easy sail, tacking to windward "throughout the night, and at daylight of "the 7th bore away. The 7th and 8th

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" were spent in exploring the Easter Is-
" lands of that groupe, and bartering with
" the savages. Not being able to find
" anchorage, the frigates bore away, and
" anchored on the 9th off the Island of
" Maouna, on a coral bank in the open
" sea, distance from the shore one mile.
" The same evening three boats armed
" landed from the ships, under the com-
" mand of Captain de Langle, of the As-
" trolabe, where they were received in the
" most friendly and hospitable manner by
" the islanders, who brought the people
" birds, hogs, and fruits in abundance.
" After an hour's interview the boats re-
" turned to the ships. Every person ap-
" peared satisfied with the friendly recep-
" tion they experienced: their only regret
" was, being anchored in such a bad road-
" stead, where the ships rolled as if they
" were in the open sea.

" On the morning of the 10th four boats
" were sent on shore with an armed water-
" ing party, who succeeded in procuring
" abundance of that necessary beverage,
" and returned to the ships without any
" molestation from the islanders. The

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" weather being squally and unsettled, " with the ships rolling gunwales under in " this open roadstead, it was deemed pru- " dent by the commanders to heave up " the anchors, and keep under weigh dur- " ing the night off and on from the island. " The cables were found to be much in- " jured by the foul ground on which the " ships had anchored.

" On the morning of the 11th the fri- " gates were at no great distance from one " of the places where water could be pro- " cured. Four boats were accordingly " despatched for the shore, under the " command of Captain de Langle, who " with several others never more rejoined " the ships, being most inhumanly mas- " sacred by the islanders. The following " is a narrative of that unfortunate event " by one of the officers who was fortunate " enough to survive the massacre."

Narrative of M. de Vaujuas.

" On Tuesday, the 11th December, at " eleven in the morning, M. de la Pérouse " sent his long-boat and barge, laden with " empty casks, and a party of marines

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" armed, to accompany an expedition " under the command of M. de Langle. " M. Boutin had already received instruc- " tions respecting the means of preserving " order and providing for our security when " the boats should land. At the same " time our captain hoisted out his boats, " and in like manner loaded them with " casks, and armed them. At half after " twelve, the ships being within three- " quarters of a league of the shore, with " their larboard tacks aboard, the four " boats set off to take in water in a cove " that had been reconnoitred by M. de " Langle. This watering place was to " leeward of that where we had been be- " fore, to which M. de Langle thought it " preferable, because it appeared to him " less inhabited, and equally commodious. " The former, however, had the advan- " tage of a more easy entrance, and suf- " ficient depth of water for our long-boats " to be in no danger of grounding.

" M. de Langle asked me, though I was " a convalescent and weak, to accompany " him, by way of taking the air on shore. " He took upon himself the command of

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" the barge, and gave that of the long-
" boat to M. Gobien. M. Boutin com-
" manded the long-boat, and M. Mouton
" the barge of the *Boussole*. M. Colinet
" and Father Receveur, both invalids, with
" Messrs. de Lemanon, La Martinière, and
" Lavaux, and several persons from both
" ships, were of the party; making in all,
" with the crews of the two barges, sixty-
" one in number.

" While on our way, we perceived with
" regret that a large part of the canoes
" which were alongside of the ships follow-
" ed us, and came to the same cove: we
" likewise saw several of the natives from
" other villages going to it along the rocks
" which separate it from the adjacent
" bays. When we came to the reef which
" forms the cove, and which leaves only
" a narrow passage of a little depth for
" boats, we found that it was low water,
" and that the long-boats could not pro-
" ceed into the cove without getting
" aground. In fact, they touched when
" within half a musket-shot from the shore,
" and we could only get them nearer by
" pushing them on by setting our oars to

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" the bottom. This bay had appeared " much more favourably to the captain, " because when he visited it the tide was " not so low.

" At our arrival the savages, who stood " by the water-side to the number of seven " or eight hundred, threw into the sea, in " token of peace, several branches of the " tree from which the islanders of the " South Seas obtain their inebriating liquor. " On landing M. de Langle gave orders that " an armed marine and a seaman should " be left to guard each of the boats, while " the crews of the long-boats were em- " ployed in getting in the water, under " the protection of a double line of fusi- " leers, reaching from the long-boats to " the watering place. The casks were " filled and taken into the boats very " peaceably, the islanders suffering them- " selves to be kept sufficiently within " bounds by the armed marines. Among " them were a certain number of women, " and very young girls, who offered them- " selves to us in the most indecent manner, " and their advances were not universally " rejected. We saw but few children.

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"When our business was nearly ended, "the number of natives had still increas- "ed, and they became more troublesome. "This circumstance induced M. de Lan- "gle to give up the design he had before "entertained, of bartering for a little pro- "vision, and he gave orders to reimbark "immediately; but previously (and this, "I believe, was the first cause of our mis- "fortune) he made presents of a few beads "to a sort of chiefs, who had assisted in "keeping the islanders a little at a dis- "tance. We were certain, however, that "this kind of police was mere mockery; "and if these pretended chiefs had any "authority, it extended to a very small "number of persons. These presents, "distributed among five or six individuals, "excited the discontent of all the rest; a "general clamour then arose, and we "were no longer able to check it. They "suffered us, however, to get into our "boats; but a party of the islanders fol- "lowed us into the water, while the rest "picked up stones on the beach.

"As the long-boats were aground a lit- "tle from the shore, we were obliged to

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" wade up to the middle in water to reach " them, and in doing this several of the " marines wetted their muskets. In this " situation began the horrible scene which " I am about to relate. We had scarcely " gotten into the long-boats, when M. de " Langle gave orders to get in the grapnel " and push them off. Several of the most " robust of the islanders opposed this, " by holding the grapnel rope. The cap- " tain seeing this, and perceiving the tu- " mult increase, and a few stones reach " him, endeavoured to intimidate them by " firing over their heads. This, far from " inspiring them with fear, was the sig- " nal of a general attack. A shower of " stones, thrown with equal force and " quickness, poured on us. The battle " commenced on both sides, and became " general. Those whose muskets were in " a condition to go off brought down seve- " ral of these furies; but the rest were no " way disturbed at it, and seemed to act " with more vigour. One party approach- " ed the boats; while another, to the " number of five or six hundred, kept up " a terrible and fatal discharge of stones.

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"On the first act of hostility I had "leaped into the water to get to the *As-* "*trolabe's* barge, which was without offi- "cers. Circumstances gave me strength "for the short passage I had to make; "and notwithstanding my weakness, and "a few blows I received from stones at "the time, I got into the barge without "assistance. I saw with grief that there "was scarcely a musket in it unwetted, "and that all I could do was to endeavour "to get her afloat on the outside of the "reef as quickly as possible. The battle "however continued, and the large stones "thrown by the savages wounded some of "us. As soon as any one that was struck "fell into the sea on the side next the "savages, he was immediately despatched "with their clubs or paddles.

"M. de Langle was the first victim of "the ferociousness of these barbarians, "who had experienced from him nothing "but benefactions. At the commence- "ment of the attack he was knocked down "bleeding from the bow of the long-boat, "where he had posted himself, and fell "into the water, with the master at arms

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"and the carpenter, who were at his side. "The rage with which the islanders fell "upon the captain saved the two latter, "who contrived to reach the barge. Those "who remained in the long-boat soon "shared the fate of their unfortunate "commander, except a few, who were "able to escape and gain the reef, whence "they swam to the barges. In less than "four minutes the islanders made them-"selves masters of both the long-boats, "and I had the affliction to see our un-"happy companions massacred, without "being able to assist them. The *Astro-"labe's* barge was still within the reef, and "I expected every moment to see her "experience the same fate as the long-"boats; but the eagerness of the islanders "saved her, the greater part fell upon the "long-boat, the rest contented themselves "with throwing stones at us. Several, "however, came to wait for us in the pas-"sage, and on the reefs.

"Though there was a heavy swell, and "the wind blew right in, we succeed-"ed in getting out of this fatal place, in "spite of their stones, and the dangerous

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" wounds which some of us had received ; " and joined M. Mouton, who was out of " the cove in the *Boussole's* barge, and who " had lightened his boat by throwing " overboard his water, to make room for " those who could reach him. I had taken " into the *Astrolabe's* barge Messrs. Boutin " and Colinet, with several other persons. " All those who escaped to the barges were " more or less wounded, so that we were " in a defenceless state, and it was impos- " sible to think of re-entering into a bay " from which we were extremely happy to " have escaped, to make head against a " thousand enraged barbarians, as this " would have been to expose ourselves to " inevitable death, without the least ad- " vantage.

" Accordingly we steered our course to " return on board the two ships, which " had tacked towards the offing at three " o'clock, the very moment of the mas- " sacre, not even suspecting that we were " in the least danger. There was a fresh " breeze, and the ships were far to wind- " ward, which was an unpleasant circum- " stance for us, and particularly for those

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" whose wounds required speedy dressing. " At four they put about again, and stood " towards the land.

" When we had cleared the reefs, I set " the sails and hauled close to the wind in " order to get off shore, throwing overboard " every thing that could impede the pro- " gress of the boat, which was full of " people. Happily the islanders, busied " in plundering the long-boats, thought " not of pursuing us. We had nothing for " our defence but four or five cutlasses and " a charge for two or three muskets, which " were little to protect us against two or " three hundred barbarians, armed with " stones and clubs, and provided with light " canoes, in which they might keep them- " selves at what distance they pleased. " Some of these canoes left the bay soon " after us, but they sailed along the shore, " whence one of them departed to inform " those which had remained alongside the " ship. The people in this canoe, as they " passed, had the insolence to make threat- " ening signs to us; but my situation ob- " liged me to suspend my vengeance, and

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"reserve our feeble means for our own "defence.

"When we had gained the offing, we "pulled away right to windward towards "the ships, hoisted a red handkerchief at "the mast-head, and as we drew near fired "our last three musket-shots. M. Mou-"ton likewise made a signal for assistance "with two handkerchiefs; but we were "not observed till we were almost on "board. The *Astrolabe*, the nearest of the "two ships, then bore away for us, and at "half-past four I put on board her those "who were most severely wounded. M. "Mouton did the same; and then we re-"paired immediately on board the *Bous-"sole*, where I related to the commodore "our melancholy tale. His astonishment "was extreme, after the precautions his "prudence had induced him to take, and "the just confidence he reposed in M. de "Langle, and I can compare his sorrow "only to my own. This disaster recalled "to our minds a lively remembrance of that "of the 13th July 1786, and threw a com-"plete gloom over our voyage. Still, how-

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" ever, we thought ourselves happy, that
" the greater part of those who went on
" shore were saved ; since, if eagerness for
" plunder had not stopped, or for a mo-
" ment called off the rage of the savages,
" not one of us could have escaped.

" It is impossible to express the feelings
" excited by this fatal event on board the
" two ships. The death of M. de Langle,
" who enjoyed the confidence and friend-
" ship of his crew, threw every person be-
" longing to the *Astrolabe* into the utmost
" consternation. Those islanders who were
" alongside when I arrived, and knew no-
" thing of the affair, were on the point of
" being sacrificed to the vengeance of our
" seamen, which we had the utmost diffi-
" culty to restrain. The general affliction
" that prevailed on board was the noblest
" funeral panegyric that could be made
" of the captain. For my part, I lost in
" him a friend, rather than a commanding
" officer ; and the concern he expressed
" for my welfare will lead me to regret
" him as long as I have breath : too happy,
" could I have testified my attachment
" and gratitude by sacrificing my life for

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"his! But this brave officer, more ex- "posed than the rest, was the first that fell "a prey to the ferocious beasts by whom "we were attacked. In the state of weak- "ness in which I was left by my conva- "lescence, I had gone ashore without arms, "and under the protection of others; and "when I reached the barge all our ammu- "nition was expended or wetted, so that "unhappily I could only give orders of too "little efficacy.

"I should not do justice to those, who "were so fortunate as to save themselves "like me, did I neglect to add, that "they behaved with all the coolness and "bravery possible. Messrs. Boutin and "Colinet, whose force of mind was un- "impaired notwithstanding their severe "wounds, assisted me with their counsel, "which was of no small advantage; and "I was ably seconded by M. Gobien, "who was the last to quit the long-boat, "and whose example, words, and intrepi- "dity, contributed not a little to encourage "such of the seamen as might have felt "apprehension. The inferior officers, sea- "men, and marines, executed the orders

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"given them with equal zeal and punc-"tuality. M. Mouton had equal reason "to be satisfied with the crew of the *Bous-*"*sole's* barge.

"Every person who went ashore can "testify with me, that no violence, no im-"prudence on our part, preceded the at-"tack of the savages. Our Captain had "issued the strictest orders to this effect, "and no one had infringed them.

"(Signed) VAUJUAS.

"List of the persons massacred by the "savages of the Island of Maouna, the "11th December 1787.

"*The Astrolabe.*

"M. de Langle, post-captain, com-"mander.

"Yves Humon,
"John Redellec,
"Francis Feret,
"Laurence Robin,
"A Chinese,
} Seamen.

"Lewis David, one of the gunner's crew.

"John Geraud, a servant.

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"*The Boussole.*

"M. Lamanou, natural philosopher
"and naturalist.

"Peter Talin, gunner.

"Andrew Roth, } of the gunner's crew.
"Joseph Rayes, }

"All the rest of the party were more or
"less wounded."

In consequence of the above dreadful catastrophe it was necessary the ships should proceed from this horrid place to a secure port, for the purpose of building long-boats to replace those destroyed by the islanders; the Count therefore determined to proceed to Botany Bay, in New Holland. He sailed from Maouna on the 14th December, and spent a few days trafficking at two of the adjacent islands, named Oyolava and Pola; thence he proceeded on his newly intended voyage, and communicated with the inhabitants of Cocoa and Traitor's Islands. A canoe also visited the ships as they passed Tongataboo.

On their route they sighted Norfolk

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Island, and anchored there for a short time in an open roadstead, which enabled them to give a description of that beautiful island; from whence they proceeded towards Botany Bay, where they anchored on the 26th January 1788. There they found the British squadron under command of Governor Phillip, which had sailed from England the preceding year for the purpose of establishing a British colony at that place. La Pérouse's anchor had not been long let go when the English ships got under sail and steered out of Botany Bay for Port Jackson, which was found to be a much better situation for the new settlement than the former place. An officer from the English frigate *Cyrus* was sent on board the *Boussole* by Captain Hunter, to congratulate the French navigators on their arrival; which compliment was returned by an officer from la Pérouse waiting on Captain Hunter. Here a clergyman of the expedition died of the wounds received at Mouna. New longboats were built, supplies of wood and water taken on board, and despatches connected with the expedition handed

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over to Governor Phillip, to be forwarded to France. The expedition sailed thence late in February, and no authentic accounts of it were obtained for a period of thirty-eight years! But after a lapse of this long period of time, I became the discoverer of its fate, in the manner which will be described in the following pages.

As la Pérouse did not return to France, and no accounts of him had been received for three years, the greatest anxiety was felt respecting his fate, especially by scientific and literary men, who considered it due to la Pérouse and his companions to remind the Sovereign of France that measures ought to be adopted to render those great navigators such assistance as the nation could afford. In consequence of their remonstrance the following decrees were passed:

Decree of the National Assembly, February 9th 1791.

"The National Assembly, after having "heard the report of its united committees of agriculture, commerce, and "naval affairs, decrees:

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"That the King be requested to give "orders to all ambassadors, residents, con-"suls, and agents of the nation in foreign "countries, to intreat, in the name of "humanity and of the arts and sciences, "the different sovereigns of the nations "in which they reside, to enjoin all navi-"gators and agents of every description "under their command, wherever they "may be, but particularly in the southern "parts of the Pacific Ocean, to make all "possible search after the two French fri-"gates *la Boussole* and *l'Astrolabe*, com-"manded by M. de la Pérouse, and after "their crews; as likewise every inquiry "that may serve to confirm to us whether "they be yet in being, or have been lost; "in order that, if M. de la Pérouse and "his companions should be found or met "with, no matter in what place, every "assistance may be given them, and they "may be furnished with all possible means "of returning to their country, and bring-"ing with them whatever they may have "in their possession; the National As-"sembly engaging to indemnify, and even "to recompense, according to the impor-

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" tance of the service, every one that may " furnish any assistance to these naviga- " tors, procure intelligence of them, or " merely be the cause of restoring to " France any papers or effects that may " belong or have belonged to their expe- " tion.

" It farther decrees, that the King be " requested to equip one or more vessels, " on board which shall be embarked men " of science, naturalists, and draughts- " men; and to confer on the commanders " of the expedition the double mission of " seeking after M. de la Pérouse, in con- " formity to documents, instructions, and " orders which shall be given them, and at " the same time of making researches with " regard to the sciences and commerce; " taking every measure to render the ex- " pedition, independently of the search " after M. de la Pérouse, or even after they " may have found him, or obtained news " of him, useful and advantageous to " navigation, geography, commerce, arts, " and science.

" Collated with the original by us, the " president and secretaries of the Na-

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" tional Assembly. Paris, 24th February
" 1791.

(Signed) " DUPORT, President.
" LIORE, }
" BOUSSION, } Secretaries."

Decree of the National Assembly, the 22d April 1791.

" The National Assembly decrees:

" That the accounts and maps sent by " M. de la Pérouse of part of his voyage " as far as to Botany Bay, shall be printed " and engraved at the expense of the " nation; and that the expense shall be " defrayed from the fund of two millions,* " granted by the fourteenth article of the " decree of the 3d August 1790.

" That as soon as the edition is finished, " and such copies as the King may think " proper to dispose of are taken from it, " the remainder be sent to Mme. de la " Pérouse, with a copy of the present de- " cree, as a testimony of satisfaction at M. " de la Pérouse's devotion to the common

* £83,333. 6*s*. 8*d*.

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"weal, and to the promotion of know-
"ledge and useful discoveries.

"That M. de la Pérouse shall still re-
"main on the navy list till the return of
"the vessels sent in search of him, and
"that his pay shall continue to be received
"by his wife, conformably to the direc-
"tions given by him previous to his de-
"parture.

"Collated with the original by us, the
"president and secretaries of the National
"Assembly. Paris, 25th April 1791.

(Signed)

"REUBELL, President,

"GOUPIL PREFELN,
"MOUGINS-ROQUEFORT, } Secretaries."
"ROGER,

Shortly after the passing of the above decrees, orders were sent to Brest for the equipment of two frigates to be employed on a voyage in search of La Pérouse's expedition. The ships received names analogous to the object of the enterprise on which they were to be engaged; the Commodore's ship was named "*la Recherche*" (the Research), and the other received the

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name of *l'Esperance* (Hope). The command of the former ship was given to General d'Entrecasteaux, commander-in-chief of the expedition; the command of the other frigate was conferred on Captain Huon Kermadec. Several men of science were attached to the expedition as naturalists, botanists, astronomers, &c.

An account of this voyage was published in France on the return of some of the survivers of that unfortunate expedition to their native country, by M. Labillardière, a very celebrated naturalist who was attached to the *Research*.

After encountering innumerable difficulties on two voyages in the Pacific, both commanders died. The ships put in at the Island of Java, where they were seized by the officers of the Dutch Government, condemned as prizes, and the crews imprisoned in that deleterious island. The narrator of d'Entrecasteaux's voyage obtained permission from the Dutch authorities to proceed to the Isle of France; and at the period he was thus released from prison there were then living no more than ninety-nine men, out of two hundred and

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nineteen who had sailed from France with the expedition.

I consider it necessary to give the following brief account of this expedition, for the information of those persons who may not have read Labillardière's book.

Both frigates sailed in company from the port of Brest on the 28th day of September 1791. On the passage towards the Cape of Good Hope they touched at Teneriffe for refreshments, and anchored in Table Bay on the 17th January 1792. The Commodore's instructions prior to leaving France were, that he should follow the route which la Pérouse proposed to pursue from Botany Bay, in his last letter to the Minister of Marine; but at that place d'Entrecasteaux received some information totally unfounded on truth, which caused him to alter his intended route, which, however, after a fruitless search, he found it necessary to return to and pursue.

A few days after the frigates anchored, the Commodore received a despatch which had been forwarded for him to the Cape, on a French frigate, by the Governor of the Isle of France. The despatch con-

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tained the depositions of two French captains of merchant ships, who deposed that they were at anchor in Batavia Roads when Captain Hunter, of the English frigate *Cyrus*, arrived there with his crew, passengers on a Dutch merchant ship, after having lost the *Cyrus* at Norfolk Island. The French commanders further deposed, that they had seen and conversed with some of Captain Hunter's officers at Batavia, who informed them that they had seen some of the natives of the Admiralty Islands dressed in the uniforms of the French marine, which could not have been procured by any other means than from the wreck of la Pérouse's expedition.

This piece of information determined d'Entrecasteaux to proceed to the Admiralty Islands as soon as possible. It is to be regretted that the object of d'Entrecasteaux' mission had not been made known to Captain Hunter, who with his crew were passengers on board a transport lying in Table Bay when the French expedition anchored there, from whence he sailed the next day for England, as Captain Hunter had seen la Pérouse at Bo-

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tany Bay in January 1788, and was acquainted with him. Had any such circumstance come to his notice, on passing the Admiralty Islands, as that alluded to regarding the savages in uniform, it cannot be doubted for a moment that he would without delay have made it known to the commodore of the French expedition.

D'Entrecasteaux sailed from the Cape for Van Deimen's Land on the 16th February 1792, and anchored in the channel which bears his name on the 24th of April. On the passage from Table Bay the Island of St. Paul's was visited, which they found in a state of ignition, occasioned by a volcanic eruption.

While the ships lay at anchor in d'Entrecasteaux's channel, abundance of firewood, water, and fish of various descriptions, were procured, and a very friendly intercourse was maintained with the natives. Having accomplished the object for which the frigates put in here, the commodore sailed on his newly planned route. He coasted the south-west and west parts of New Caledonia, discovered

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a small cluster of islands to the northward of it, and had a distant view of the islanders on shore, but did not land. Then steering away to the north-west, he got a distant view of the Arsacides and of the Treasury Islands; coasted the western part of Bougainville's Island and the Isle of Bouka; communicated with the islanders in their canoes, and nearly got on the reefs off Bougainville's Island.

The expedition proceeded from the latter island and anchored in Carteret Harbour, a port in New Ireland, on the 17th July. Here the necessary supply of wood and water was procured. Recent traces of the islanders having visited that port were discovered, but none of them were seen by the navigators. A human skeleton was found in a state of decomposition among the rocks. During the time the ships lay in this port there was an incessant fall of rain, such as had never been experienced by the oldest navigators on board.

On the 24th July the expedition sailed from Carteret Harbour through St. George's Channel, had a view of the Portland Islands, and shortly after visited the

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Admiralty Islands, where they were not so successful as to find anchorage; but had several interviews with the islanders, amongst whom they could not perceive the smallest fragment or raiment of French uniform, or discover any other circumstance which could induce them to believe that la Pérouse's expedition had either visited or been shipwrecked at those islands, as supposed to have been stated by some of Captain Hunter's officers at Batavia.

The commodore having now reason to believe that he had been misled, made the best of his way from the Admiralty Islands to Amboyna, a Dutch settlement of the Moluccas. On the passage to that place they had a view of the Hermit and Exchequer Islands, passed in sight of New Guinea, sailed through Pitt's Straights, and anchored at Amboyna on the 6th of September 1792.

Prior to the ships' arrival at Amboyna the crew were very sickly, occasioned by that dreadful scourge to sea voyages the scurvy. Some opposition was made by the Dutch to the general's anchoring at

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Amboyna, which he managed to avoid. Subsequently he met with very hospitable treatment from the agents of the Dutch East-India Company there. By the 15th October the crews were completely recovered, on which day the expedition sailed for the purpose of re-entering the Pacific, and of pursuing the route proposed by la Pérouse in his last letter from New South Wales.

On the passage towards Van Diemen's Land, where it was proposed they should refresh a second time, a large extent of coast was surveyed, from the south-west cape of New Holland towards the eastward, and several islands discovered, lying at the distance of from one to fifteen and twenty leagues from the coast. The search was then abandoned, in consequence of the expedition becoming short of fresh water, and they anchored at Van Diemen's Land the second time on the 22d January 1793. Here they procured such supplies as the country then afforded, and resumed their voyage on the 1st March.

On the passage toward the Friendly

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Islands they passed near to the north cape of New Zealand, and were visited by some of the natives in a canoe. On the passage from New Zealand they discovered a few uninhabited islands, one of which they named Research's Island, after the ship; it is situated in latitude 29° 20′ south, and longitude 179° 55′ east. They sighted Curtis's Islands, and then bore away for Tongataboo, the capital of the Friendly Islands, where the expedition anchored on the 25th March.

Here they met with a most hospitable and friendly reception from some of the old friends and acquaintance of Captain Cook. This was the second vessel which had anchored at Tonga subsequent to the Dutch navigator Tasman, who discovered it. Their good understanding with the natives was, however, of short duration, from the islanders being greatly addicted to theft. One of the sentinels on shore, while on his post doing duty over the tents, was most treacherously knocked down by a blow given from behind his back. The perpetrator of this took advantage of his prostrated victim, and ran

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away with his musket. The armourer of the *Research* was also knocked down with clubs by the natives, who afterwards stript him in open day, within sight of the ships. Those frequent outrages on the part of the islanders led to consequences which proved fatal to one of their chiefs, who was shot dead in a scuffle with one of the boats' crews. Notwithstanding those frequent quarrels, a good understanding was kept up between the general and the highest order of chiefs. The ships were abundantly supplied with provisions, in yams, bananoes, cocoa-nuts, poultry, and pigs. Several of the latter were slaughtered and salted for sea stock.

Inquiries were made by means of "Cook's Vocabulary of the Tonga Language," to ascertain if la Pérouse had visited the island. Either the natives could not understand these inquiries, or the interrogators were unable to comprehend the replies; otherwise the islanders must have answered in the affirmative; as it is now certain that he visited Namoca, one of the islands to the northward; and he was known there by the name of Lowagey,

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and two of their countrymen had left their homes and gone with him. This information I procured from old and intelligent natives of Tonga. However, I had advantages which the General did not possess, for I had a tolerable knowledge of the Tonga language myself, and was supplied with interpreters perfectly conversant with the native dialect, as will be seen by the accounts which I received from the natives of that island, while at anchor there in August 1827, on the subject.

Being abundantly supplied with provisions and every description of refreshment the island could afford, the expedition sailed on the 10th April for New Caledonia, and sighted the following islands: Turtle Island of Captain Cook, Eerronan, and Annatom, Tanna, of the same, which are a part of the New Hebrides. They discovered an island which they named Beaupré Island, situated in latitude 20° 14′ south, longitude 163° 47′ east of Paris.

On the 19th the ships anchored at New Caledonia, in the same port where Cook had anchored in 1774, and whilst at anchor there, the navigators endeavoured by all

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the signs and gestures they could devise, but without success, to learn from the natives if their unfortunate countrymen had visited their shores. During the sojourn of the expedition, the men of science frequently landed on professional duty, and had several interviews with the islanders, who appeared by no means hostile towards their newly arrived visitors. Yet they made several attempts to seize on the ships' boats, from which however no fatal consequences arose. They gave Labillardière more proofs than one of their being cannibals, as he found a young man one day regaling himself by picking the thigh-bone of a youth aged about fourteen.

Prior to the ship's departure from New Caledonia, Captain Huon, of the *Espérance*, died from general debility of constitution, which had been of long standing.

Early on the morning of the 10th May, the expedition set sail, and was employed for four days ranging along the eastern side of the extensive reefs which run out some degrees to the northward of the island. On the morning of the 20th the island off Santa Cruz, alias Egmont Island

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of Captain Carteret, was visible from the deck, to the north-west, at seven leagues distance.

It appears by all modern charts of this part of the Pacific, that this expedition passed at no greater distance than nine or ten leagues from Mannicolo, or la Pérouse's Island. This must have happened at night, at which time it might easily have been passed without being seen, as Labillardière, in his account of the voyage, does not mention having seen the island. This was rather unfortunate, for had the island been visited at so early a period, it is probable some of the survivors from the wreck might have been recovered, and restored to their country, to relate the melancholy disaster which proved fatal to the most important scientific expedition that ever sailed from Europe. At all events, large portions of the wreck might then have been procured, which prior to my arrival at Mannicolo were destroyed, or dispersed by the destructive hand of time and by the boisterous elements.

It appears from the account of the voyage, that the commodore stood close in

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for the entrance of Beautiful Bay, in the Island of Santa Cruz, so named by the Spaniards, where he had some intercourse with the islanders in their canoes, but did not anchor.

While one of the boats was employed searching for anchorage near to the south-east point of the island, a native shot an arrow which slightly grazed or scratched the forehead of a sailor. The wound was so slight that the honest tar thought light of the matter, and on returning to his ship would not allow it to be dressed. But though the wound healed up, in seventeen days after the man died from its effect: which left no doubt on the minds of the medical men of the expedition as to the arrow being poisoned. The native who so wantonly shot the arrow, was fired at from the boat and killed.

Finding no traces of la Pérouse or his companions at this island, the expedition bore away before a brisk trade wind, and sailed along the south shore of the Solomon Islands, at more than a proper distance to be of any service to such unfortunate mariners as might have been ship-

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wrecked there. A few interviews were obtained with the islanders in their canoes, who behaved in the most treacherous manner to their visitors.

The expedition from this part proceeded to reconnoitre the northern shores of Louisiade, then passed through Dampier's Straits, which separates New Britain from New Guinea, and explored the northern coast of the former island. While employed on this service, General d'Entrecasteaux fell a victim to the scurvy, also some part of the crew. From the coast of New Britain the expedition proceeded towards the Portland Islands; and on the afternoon of the 12th July the most easterly of the Admiralty Islands was in sight from the decks.

The expedition proceeded westward, and on the 18th passed the Anchorite's Islands. On the 2d August the Traitors' Islands were in sight; on the 11th they passed the Cape of Good Hope of New Guinea, and on the 16th cast anchor at the large island of Waygiou, near New Guinea. The crew were at this period reduced to the most deplorable state of wretchedness by the

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scurvy, and the want of proper food. Their biscuits were so much injured and destroyed by insects, such as cockroaches and wevils, and the salt provisions had become so very offensive, that several of the crew, although starving, could not make use of them. Those evils were remedied by the supplies procured at this island, chiefly consisting of turtle, weighing from 200 to 240 pounds each, dried turtles'-eggs, broiled turtle-flesh, fowls, and hogs, of which there was the greatest abundance, oranges, cocoa-nuts, papaya, gourds of different kinds, rice, sago-bread, sugar-cane, pimento, Turkey corn roasted, and fresh sprouts of the papaya-tree. Aided by such refreshments, the crews of the frigates soon recovered. On the 28th the expedition sailed from Waygion, and on the 4th September cast anchor in the roadstead of Bourou, a Dutch settlement, which is guarded by a few European and Malay soldiers.

After the death of General d'Entrecasteaux the command of the expedition devolved upon M. Daoribeau. On the 16th the expedition proceeded towards Java.

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A few days after the new commander became dangerously ill, and was confined to his bed; on which M. Rossel, the next senior officer, took charge. This gentleman is still living, and resides at Paris, after having attained the honourable rank of Admiral in his country's service He is now a member of the National Institute, and of several other scientific and literary societies in Paris.

The expedition experienced some difficulties, occasioned by light winds and calms in the straits of Bouton, and near to the coast of Celebes, and anchored at Sourabaya on the 28th October. Prior to the ship's arrival at the last port a dysentery broke out amongst the crew, which occasioned the death of six men. After passing the straits of Bouton, the anchor had not been long gone before the officers of the expedition were made acquainted by letters that a war had broke out between France and Holland, and that they must consequently consider themselves prisoners of war. The ships were accordingly made prizes; and it appears by Labillardière's account, that himself and shipmates re-

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ceived during their captivity very cruel treatment from the Hollanders. After several months' detention they were allowed to depart for the Isle of France, from whence Labillardière and Admiral Rossel returned to Europe in March 1796, to relate to their countrymen the disastrous termination of the expedition. France being at that period in a dreadful state of convulsion occasioned by the revolution, and the generality of men's minds being wholly occupied about their own personal safety, no further steps were taken to ascertain the fate of the far-famed and ill-fated Count de la Pérouse.

Some months subsequent to the departure of General d'Entrecasteaux's expedition from France, an English merchant-ship was captured and brought into the port of Morlaix, where the commander's deposition was taken before the mayor, regarding the fate of la Pérouse's expedition. It certainly is rather an extraordinary statement; but I will give it a place, and leave such seamen as may read this account to judge for themselves as to the credit it deserves.

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Extract from the Minutes of the Justice of Peace of the City and Commune of Morlaix.

" George Bowen, captain of the ship " *Albemarle*, on her voyage from Bombay " to London, brought into Morlaix, being " interrogated respecting what he knew of " la Pérouse, who sailed from France on " a voyage round the world, made answer, " that in December 1791, being on his re- " turn from Port Jackson to Bombay, he " himself saw on the coast of New " Georgia, in the eastern ocean, part of the " wreck of M. de la Pérouse's ship float- " ing on the water,* and that he imagines " it to have belonged to a French-built " ship. That he did not go ashore, but " that the natives of the country came " aboard his vessel. That he could not " understand their language, but that he " conceived from their signs some ships " had visited those parts. That these

* La Pérouse must have been wrecked in 1788. I leave it to those who are acquainted with the effects of the waves on a shipwrecked vessel, to judge whether these remains could still exist floating on the water at the end of December 1791.

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" poeple were acquainted with the use of " several implements of iron, of which " they were very desirous. That he, the " deponent, had bartered several iron arti- " cles with these Indians for beads and " bows. That, with regard to the charac- " ter of these Indians, they appeared to " him to be peaceable and better inform- " ed than the inhabitants of Otaheite, " since they had a perfect knowledge of " the implements of iron. That their ca- " noes were made in a superior manner. " That when the natives were on board his " ship he did not yet know any thing of " the wreck; but sailing along the coast, " he perceived it about midnight, on the " 30th of December 1791, by the light of " a large fire which was burning on the " land.* That had it not been for this " fire he should probably have run on the " rocks of Cape Deception. The depo- " nent further declares, that all along this

* It is surprising, that the wreck seen by George Bowen, and asserted to be that of la Pérouse's ship, and of French construction, whence we must suppose it to have been considerable in size, and examined with attention by a person very near, should have been merely perceived at midnight by the light of a fire on the land.

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" part of the coast of New Georgia he
" observed a great number of cabins or
" huts. That these Indians were of a stout
" make and gentle disposition; whence
" he presumes that if M. de la Pérouse,
" or any of his crew, were on the land,
" they are still living; and that he knows,
" of all the vessels which have navigated
" these seas, none but M. de Bougainville,
" the *Alexander*, the *Friendship* of Lon-
" don, M. de la Pérouse, and the depo-
" ponent, ever were at this place; conse-
" quently, he presumes, the wreck must
" have belonged to the ship of M. de la
" Pérouse, since the *Alexander* was sunk
" in the strait of Macassar, and the *Friend-*
" *ship* arrived safe in England.

" Being interrogated, whether he had
" seen any garments upon the natives of
" the country, denoting them to have had
" communication with Europeans, he an-
" swered that these Indians were naked,
" that the climate is very hot, and that he
" understood by their signs that they had
" seen ships before. That he saw in the
" possession of these Indians, fishing-nets,
" the threads of which were made of flax,

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" and the meshes were of European work-
" manship. That he took a piece of one
" out of curiosity, from which it would be
" easy to judge that the materials and
" workmanship were European."

These were the only accounts of the fate of the unfortunate Count's expedition which came to my knowledge up to 1826, the time I touched at Tucopia, except some unfounded reports respecting a cross of St. Louis having been found on a nameless island, without either latitude, longitude, or date of discovery affixed to it, but said to be situated in the Pacific between New Caledonia and New Guinea.

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P.	line.	
4	5	*for* 1828 *read* 1808.
36	19	*for* or Malay *read* and Malay.
47	2	*for* 25th of November *read* 25th of October.
70	9	*for* Louiscarde *read* Louisiade.
90	5	*for* Fresher *read* Fraser.
135	11	*for* six *read* seven.
191	3	*for* ekes out *read* makes out.
197	7	*for* Wangeroa *read* Wangaroa.
215	25	*for* Mr. Blackhall *read* Blacksell.
222	23	*for* Marley *read* Moly.
258	12	*for* Eawa *read* Eoaa.
288	21	*for* Vavow *read* Vavaoo.
295	12	*for* Juckafinawa *read* Fuckafinawa.
298	27	*for* Otata *read* Atata.
299	26	*for* schnappers *read* snappers.
300	29	*for* Hanga Tonga *read* Honga Tonga.
301	1	*for* Hanga Hapai *read* Honga Hapai.

ERRATA, VOL. II.

P.	line.	
2	19 and 25,	*for* Eavaoo *read* Vavaoo.
13	15	*for* Kamoa *read* Hamoa.
20	4	*for* Hamón *read* Hamoa.
20	9	*for* Toonga *read* Tonga.
28	25	*for* Tooleo *read* Toobo.
32	14	*for* Lefroga *read* Lefooga.
126	14	*for* Barilla *read* Morilla.
147	14	*for* Mancolans *read* Mannicolans.
164	12	*for* there *read* therefore.
168	9	*for* Thamaca *read* Thowmaco.
206	6	*for* grape shot *read* shot.
218	2	*for* skills *read* skulls.
230	29	*for* Hapley *read* Hopley.
253	19	*after* respect *read* for the secretary of the Marine Board of Calcutta.
265	3	*for* preternatural *read* supernatural.
272	8	*for* Mayhanger *read* Moyhanger.
284	19	*for* New Lark *read* New Sark.
285	21	*for* Tucopian who resides *read* Tucopians who resided.
289	16	*for* takee, takee *read* tokee, tokee.
306	17	*after* inexpedient *read* to which I gave my consent solely on account of the unhealthy state of my crew.
316	7	*for* holy *read* booby or balony.
320	16	*for* Huvalley *read* Cavalley.
320	*last line*,	*for* Carroraricka *read* Corroraruka.
324	6	*for* a man *read* the man before-mentioned.
328	14	*for* Hakihanga *read* Hokelangha.
330	4	*after* benighted ministers *read* as they are called by their opponents at New Zealand.
346	24 and 26	*for* Erronam *read* Erronan.
350	11, 15, and 17,	*for* Ethaey *read* Ethoey.
398	23,	*read* March 22.

Plate—for canoe of Indenny or Santa Cruz *read* La Pérouse's Island, or Mannicolo.

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NARRATIVE,

&c. &c.

CHAPTER I.

VOYAGE IN THE SOUTH SEAS, DREADFUL MASSACRE AT THE FEJEE ISLANDS, AND OCCURRENCES WHICH LED TO THE DISCOVERY OF THE FATE OF LA PÉROUSE.

In 1812 and 1813 I sailed as an officer in the Calcutta ship *Hunter*, Captain Robson, on a voyage from Bengal to New South Wales, the *Beetee* Islands (commonly called the *Fejee* Islands), and Canton. I had before visited these islands in 1809, and remained among them for four months, during which time, being in the habit of associating very much with the natives, I made a considerable progress in learning their language. On joining the *Hunter* I found Captain Robson had been at these islands twice before, and had obtained considerable influence over the natives of a part of the Sandal-wood coast, by joining them in their wars, and assisting them to destroy their enemies, who were cut up, baked, and eaten in his presence. The

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chief with whom he was most intimate was Bonasar, of the town of Vilear and its dependencies in the interior.

On the afternoon of the 19th February 1813 the ship *Hunter* anchored in Vilear Bay, at a distance of a quarter of a mile from the entrance of a small river that led to the town. The town of Vilear is about a mile, or perhaps one and a half, from the anchorage, situated on the verdant banks of a beautiful stream. The sides of the river are covered with thick forests of mangrove bushes to within a short distance of the town, where the land is somewhat elevated and clear of wood.

Before the anchor was let go, the chief's brother came on board to congratulate the captain on his return; and shortly after, the chief, with several other chiefs and priests, with a Lascar or East-Indian sailor, who had deserted from the *Hunter* at this place about twenty months before. The chief informed the captain, that shortly after his departure for Canton last voyage, the towns which he had conquered on the coast and interior by the captain's assistance, revolted, and being joined by the powerful tribes who reside on the banks of a large river, called Nanpacab, they had waged a furious war against him.

The chief then hinted at the impossibility

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there was of obtaining sandal-wood until this powerful alliance was put down by force of musketry, and requested the commander to join him in a new campaign. To this request he did not then accede. The chief urged the danger to which his subjects would be exposed while they were in straggling parties cutting the sandal-wood for us, as the enemy would lay wait for them, and cut them off when they least expected it. I went on shore with the captain and chief to the town, where we were exceedingly well received, and got presents of a hog, yams, and cocoa-nuts. We were visited next day by Terrence Dun and John Riley, British subjects: the former was discharged from the *Hunter* last voyage, and the latter from an American brig at the same time.

They informed me that they had resided during their time on shore at various parts of the islands, and were exceedingly well treated by the inhabitants; but that their countrymen who resided on the neighbouring island of Bow had become very troublesome to the islanders. Such was their bad and overbearing conduct, that the natives rose on them one day and killed three of them, before the king of Bow had time to suppress the wrath of his people, who wished to destroy all the Europeans on the island. Dun was therefore of opinion, that

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the surviving Europeans would be prevented from visiting the ship.

It is here necessary to explain how so many sailors of different countries got on shore to reside at these islands. In 1828 an American brig from the river Plate was lost on one of the islands with 40,000 Spanish dollars on board. The crew were saved in the vessel's boats, and part of them joined an American ship then lying at Myanboor Bay, on the Sandal-wood coast; others escaped to the neighbouring island of Bow, with as many of the dollars as they could conveniently carry off. Shortly after the above shipwreck several vessels, English, Indian, American, and New South Wales men, came to the coast for the purpose of procuring sandal-wood. The seamen on board these vessels became allured by the report of so many dollars being on shore at the neighbouring islands. With a view of enriching themselves, some deserted, and others were regularly discharged by their commanders and proceeded to the field of wealth. Some of those men, with the few dollars then procured, bought fire-arms and gunpowder, with which they rendered important assistance to the king of the neighbouring island of Bow, and were on that account thought highly of by the islanders, from among whom they procured wives and lived very com-

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fortably, until their insolence and cruelty induced the natives to destroy a part of them; and it will shortly be seen what a dreadful fate awaited the others in consequence of Captain Robson's proceedings.

From the time of our arrival up to the end of March following, the sandal-wood came in but very slowly. The natives in our neighbourhood begged several times of the captain to assist them in their wars, and promised, as a reward for such service, to load the ship with the desired article in two months after their enemy was conquered. Captain Robson consented; and we accordingly set out for the island of Nanpacab, situated about six miles up the river of the same name, and distant from the ship forty or fifty miles. The armament consisted of three armed boats carrying twenty musketeers, and in one of the boats there was a two-pound cannon mounted. We were accompanied by forty-six large canoes, carrying I suppose near a thousand armed savages, besides three thousand more that marched by land to the scene of action. The weather being wet and stormy, we were obliged to rendezvous at an island near the entrance of the Nanpacab until the morning of the 4th, at which time we entered the river, and were saluted by showers of arrows and stones from slings by the enemy

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who were standing on its banks. On getting near the island of Nanpacab we found it fortified. After a few discharges of the two-pounder, the defenders abandoned the fortress and escaped to the main land, from whence they were soon driven by the fire of the musketry. There were eleven of the Nanpacab people killed on this occasion, whose bodies were placed in the canoes of our party, excepting one, which was immediately despatched in a fast-sailing canoe to Vilear, to be there devoured. After this short skirmish we proceeded fifteen miles up the river, and destroyed the towns and plantations on its banks. In the evening we returned to a landing-place, where the islanders began to cook their yams in a kind of oven which will be hereafter described. The dead bodies were placed on the grass and dissected by one of the priests. The feet were cut off at the ankles, and the legs from the knees; afterwards the private parts; then the thighs at the hip joints; the hands at the wrists, the arms at the elbows, the shoulders at the sockets; and lastly, the head and neck were separated from the body. Each of these divisions of the human frame formed one joint, which was carefully tied up in green plantain leaves, and placed in the ovens to be baked with the *tara* root.

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On the morning of the 5th we proceeded along the coast to the eastward, but found the towns, forts, and plantations abandoned. On the night of the 8th we returned to the ship.

Early in May we were joined by our tender, the *Elizabeth* cutter, Mr. Ballard master, which had sailed from Port Jackson before us for the Sandwich Islands, and in a few days after we were visited by the Europeans who resided at Bow. The captain employed them to work in the ship's boats, for which they were to be paid at the rate of £4 per month, in cutlery, glass-beads, ironmongery, &c. at a fixed price, and to return to Bow when the ship was prepared to proceed on her voyage.

May, June, July, and August passed over, and we had only procured one hundred and fifty tons of sandal-wood from the islanders, which was not more than one-third of a cargo. They then declared their inability to procure more wood, as the forests were exhausted by the great number of ships which had frequented the coast for some years past.

The chiefs and men of consequence kept away from the ship, being apprehensive they might be detained as hostages until their engagements of loading the vessel were fulfilled. Captain Robson was very much displeased at this trick played on him by a savage and cun-

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ning people, and vowed vengeance against his old and faithful allies, whose stomachs he had so often helped to glut with the flesh of their enemies.

Early in September two large canoes from Bow, carrying about two hundred and twenty or two hundred and thirty men, visited the ship, for the purpose of taking home the Europeans and their wives that joined us in May. Captain Robson, about that time being sixty miles distant from the ship in the tender, attacked a fleet of Vilear canoes, and took fourteen of them; on which occasion a native of the latter place was shot dead by a small cannon-shot. On the ship and cutter rejoining company, the captain proposed to heave the cutter down, to repair some damage she had sustained in her bottom. However, he deemed it prudent, before doing so, to endeavour to possess himself of the remainder of the Vilear canoes, to prevent, as he said, their attacking the people while employed about the cutter, as it would be necessary to haul her on shore at high water.

On the morning of the 6th of September the Europeans belonging to the ship were all armed with muskets, also those Europeans from Bow, and placed under the direction of Mr. Norman, the first officer. We landed at a place

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called the Black Rock, a little way to the eastward of the river: the two canoes shortly after landed at the same place. We were joined by the Bow chiefs and a hundred of their men. The canoes and boats then put off into deep water, which precaution was used to prevent their getting aground by the tide ebbing.

On landing, the Europeans began to disperse into straggling parties of two, three, and four in a group. I begged of Mr. Norman, our commander, to cause them to keep close together in case of a sudden attack from the islanders; but no attention was paid to my remonstrance. We proceeded by a narrow path over a small level plain without interruption until we arrived at the foot of a hill, which we ascended, and soon gained the level or tableland on its top. There a few natives shewed themselves, and by shouts and gestures tried to irritate us.

Mr. Norman turned to the right along a narrow path, which led through a thicket to some native houses: I followed him with seven other Europeans and the two Bow chiefs, with one of their men. Here a few natives tried to dispute our passage: they were fired at, one shot dead, and the others retreated. Mr. Norman then directed the chief's house with

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some others to be set on fire. The order was immediately complied with, and all were in flames in a few seconds. A few minutes after we heard dreadful yells and shoutings of the savages proceeding from the road by which we had ascended to the table-land. The Bow chiefs understood from the yells that some of their men as well as Europeans were killed by the Vilear people, who lay concealed in ambush until they got us on the table-land, where they attacked our straggling parties, who having discharged their muskets, were killed before they had time to reload. Others, I afterwards understood, on seeing themselves nearly surrounded by the savages, threw down their muskets and ran towards the boat: only two of whom escaped. In Mr. Norman's party there were ten musket-men, with the two Bow chiefs and one of their followers. We determined to keep close together and fight our way to the boats.

We immediately got out of the thicket on to the table-land, where there were not more than three of the islanders, who shouted and called out to us that several of our men were killed, as also a number of the Bow men, and that we should immediately share a similar fate. On reaching the brink of the path by which we were to descend to the plain, we found Terrence Dun lying dead with his brains beaten

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out by a native club, and the whole plain between us and the boats covered with thousands of infuriated savages, all armed. Before descending to the plain, a young man named John Graham separated from us, and ran into a thicket of bushes on the left-hand side of the road, where he was quickly pursued by the three savages above-mentioned, who despatched him. This young man was the son of a publican at Port Jackson, and had served his time to the sea; he had joined an American brig about two years before, as interpreter for these islands, and after procuring a cargo for her, was paid off and discharged at his own request. The remainder of us proceeded down the precipice. On getting to the bottom the savages prepared to receive us; they stood in thousands on each side of the path, brandishing their weapons, with their faces and bodies besmeared over with the blood of our slaughtered companions.

At this moment a native who came down the precipice after us, threw a lance at Mr. Norman, which entered his back and passed out of his breast: he ran a few yards and fell down apparently dead. I fired at this native and reloaded my musket as soon as possible, when on turning round I found my companions had all run off by different routes,

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Taking advantage of the absence of the natives, who had all quitted the path and pursued our unfortunate flying men, I dashed along with all the speed that was possible, but had not proceeded more than a few yards when I came on the dead body of William Parker, who was prostrated across the path with his musket by him, which I took up and retreated with.

About this time the natives observed me and gave chase. One of them came up so close to me that I was obliged to throw Parker's musket away, as also a pistol which I had in my belt. In a moment after this I reached the foot of a small steep rock that stood on the plain. Finding it impossible to get to the boat through the crowds of natives that intercepted the pathway, I called out to my companions (some of whom were on my right), "take the hill! take the hill!" We then got to the top of it, where I joined the following persons: Charles Savage, Luis a Chinaman, and Martin Bushart, with Thomas Dafny and William Wilson. The three former men resided at Bow, and joined us at this island for the purpose before mentioned; the two latter were seamen belonging to the ship. Mic Macabe, with Joseph Atkinson and the two Bow chiefs, were killed: those men had joined us also here. Dafny fired his musket on the plain and then broke it off at the butt in

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defending himself. He was wounded in several parts of the body, and he had four arrows stuck in his back: the point of a spear had pierced his shoulder, having entered from behind and came out in the fore part under the collar bone.

It fortunately happened that the rock or hill to which we escaped was so steep that few persons could ascend it at a time; and it was too much elevated for the natives to annoy us much with their spears or slings. They however shot several arrows at us, which were impeded by a strong gale of wind that blew them off their intended course. Our chief officer having fallen, I now, as next in rank, took command of the party, and stationed them in the best way I could to defend our post. I did not allow more than one or two muskets to be fired at a time, and kept the wounded man loading for us. Several of the natives ascended the hill to within a few yards, and were shot by us in self-defence as fast as they approached. After some of them had been killed in this manner the rest kept off. Having but little ammunition left, we were as sparing of it as possible; besides which we did not wish to irritate the natives more than they already were by firing, except when driven to it by necessity. From our elevated situation we had a clear view of the landing-place, the boats at

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anchor waiting our return, the two Bow canoes, and the ship. This we had but little prospect of ever again rejoining, though I had some hopes that Captain Robson would make an effort to rescue us, by arming himself, six Indian soldiers that were on board, two or three Europeans, and the Bow people in the canoes. These hopes soon vanished, when I saw the Bow canoes set sail and steer towards their island without passing alongside the ship.

The plain which surrounded the rock was covered with the armed savages assembled from all parts of the coast, amounting to several thousands, who had been in ambush waiting for us to land. This assemblage now exhibited a scene revolting to human nature. Fires were prepared and ovens heated for the reception of the bodies of our ill-fated companions, who, as well as the Bow chiefs and their slaughtered men, were brought to the fires in the following manner. Two of the Vilear party placed a stick or limb of a tree on to their shoulders, over which were thrown the bodies of their victims, with their legs hanging downwards on one side, and their heads at the other. They were thus carried in triumph to the ovens prepared to receive them. Here they were placed in a sitting posture, while the savages sung and danced with joy over their prizes, and fired several

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musket-balls through each of the corpses, all the muskets of the slain having fallen into their hands. No sooner was this ceremony over, than the priests began to cut up and dissect these unfortunate men in our presence. Their flesh was immediately placed in the ovens to be baked and prepared as a repast for the victors, after the manner already described; meanwhile we were closely guarded on all sides but one, which fronted the thick mangrove forest on the banks of the river. Savage proposed to Martin Bushart to run for that, and endeavour to escape to the water's side and swim for the ship. This I opposed, threatening to shoot the first man dead that left the hill, and my threat for the present had the desired effect. By this time the fury of the savages was somewhat abated, and they began to listen attentively to our harangues and offers of reconciliation. I reminded them that on the day the fourteen canoes were seized and taken, eight of their men had been made prisoners on board the ship, where they were now confined. One of them was the Nambeatey (or high priest) of Vilear's brother. I represented to the multitude, that if we were killed the eight prisoners would be put to death on board; but that if I with my five companions were not sacrificed, we would cause the eight prisoners to be re-

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leased immediately. The head priest, who is regarded as a deity by these savages, immediately asked if I was speaking truth, and if his brother and the other seven men were alive? I assured him they were, and that I would send a man on board to the captain to order them to be released, if he would convey the man safe down to the boat from among the multitude; this the priest promised to do immediately. As Thomas Dafny was wounded and had no arms to defend himself, I prevailed on him to venture down the rock with the priest, and thence to the boat. He was then to inform Captain Robson of our horrid situation, which may be more easily imagined than described. I also directed him to tell the captain that it was my particular request that he should release one-half of the prisoners, and show them a large chest of iron-mongery, whales' teeth, &c. which he might promise to deliver to the remaining four prisoners with their liberty, the moment we returned to the ship.

This man proceeded as directed, and I did not lose sight of him from the time he left us until he got on the ship's deck. A cessation of arms took place in the mean time, which might have continued unbroken had it not been for the imprudence of Charles Savage, who put a greater temptation in the way of the natives

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than they could withstand. During this interval several native chiefs ascended the hill, and came within a few paces of us, with prostrations of friendship, and proffered us security if we would go down among them. To these promises I would not accede, nor allow any of my men to do so; till Charles Savage, who had resided on the islands for more than five years, and spoke the native dialect fluently, begged of me to permit him to go down among the natives with the chiefs to whom we were speaking, as he had no doubt their promises would be kept, and that if I allowed him to go he would certainly procure a peace, and enable us all to return safe to the ship. Overcome by his importunities, I at last gave my consent, but reminded him that I did not wish him to do so, and that he must leave his musket and ammunition with me. This he did, and proceeded about two hundred yards from the foot of the rock to where Bonasar was seated, surrounded by chiefs, who were happy to receive him, their secret determination being to kill and eat him. They conversed with him, however, for some time, and then called out to me in the native dialect, "Come down, Peter, we will not hurt you: you see we do not hurt Charley!" I replied that I would not go down until the prisoners landed. During this discussion the Chi-

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naman, Luis, stole down the opposite side of the hill unknown to me, with his arms, for the purpose of placing himself under the protection of a chief with whom he was intimately acquainted, and to whom he had rendered important service in former wars. The islanders, finding they could not prevail on me to place myself in their power, set up a screetch that rent the air: at that moment Charles Savage was seized by the legs, and held in that state by six men, with his head placed in a well of fresh water until he was suffocated; whilst at the same instant a powerful savage got behind the Chinaman, and with his huge club knocked the upper part of his skull to pieces. These wretched men were scarcely lifeless, when they were cut up and put into ovens ready prepared for the purpose.

We, the three defenders of the hill, were then furiously attacked on all sides by the cannibals, whom our muskets however kept in great dread, though the chiefs stimulated their men to ascend and bring us down, promising to confer the greatest honours on the man who should kill me, and frequently inquired of their people if they were afraid of three white men, when they had killed several that day. Thus encouraged, they pressed close on us. Having four muskets between three of us, two always re-

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mained loaded: for Wilson being a bad shot, we kept him loading the muskets, while Martin Bushart and I fired them off. Bushart had been a rifleman in his own country, and was an excellent marksman. He shot twenty-seven of the cannibals with twenty-eight discharges, only missing once: I also killed and wounded a few of them in self-defence. Finding they could not conquer us without a great sacrifice on their part, they kept off and vowed vengeance.

The human bodies being now prepared, they were withdrawn from the ovens, and shared out to the different tribes, who devoured them greedily. They frequently invited me to come down and be killed before it was dark, that they might have no trouble in dissecting and baking me in the night. I was bespoken joint by joint by the different chiefs, who exultingly brandished their weapons in the air, and boasted of the number of white men each had killed that day.

In reply to all this I informed them, that if I was killed, their countrymen confined on board our vessel would be killed also, but that if I was saved they would be saved. The ruthless savages replied, "Captain Robson may kill and eat our countrymen if he please; we will kill and eat you. When it is dark you cannot see to shoot at us, and you have no more powder."

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Myself and companions, seeing no hope of mercy on earth, turned our eyes towards heaven, and implored the Almighty Ruler of all things to have compassion on our wretched souls. We had now not the most distant hope of ever escaping from the savages, and expected to be devoured as our companions were but a few minutes before. The only thing which prevented our surrendering quietly was, the dread of being taken alive and put to the torture.

These people sometimes, but not very often, torture their prisoners in the following manner. They skin the soles of the feet and then torment their victims with firebrands, so as to make them jump about in that wretched state. At other times they cut off the prisoner's eye-lids and turn his face to the sun, at which he is obliged to look with his bare eyes: this is said to be a dreadful punishment. From the fingers of others they pull off the nails. By all accounts, however, these punishments are very rare, and only inflicted on persons who have given the greatest provocation; such as we had done this day, by shooting so many men in our own defence.

Having no more than sixteen or seventeen cartridges left, we determined, as soon as it was dark, to place the muzzles of our muskets to our hearts with the butts on the ground and dis-

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charge them into our breasts, thus to avoid the danger of falling alive into the hands of these cannibal monsters.

At this moment the boat put off from the ship and soon got close to the landing-place, where we counted the eight prisoners landing from her. I could not imagine how the captain could have acted in this strange way, as the only hope presented of our lives being spared was by allowing a part of the prisoners to land, who would, of course, intercede with their friends on shore to save us, that we might in return protect their countrymen when we returned to the ship. But this precaution not having been attended to, all hope seemed now fled, and the only means of relief left consisted in the dreadful determination of destroying our own lives in the mode already mentioned.

Shortly after the eight prisoners landed, they were conveyed unarmed up the rock to me, preceded by the priest, who informed me that Captain Robson had released the eight men, and sent a chest of cutlery, ironmongery, &c. on shore for the chiefs, with orders that we were to deliver our muskets to them, and that he would see us safe to the boat. I replied, that as long as I lived I would not part with my musket, which was my own property, as I was certain they would slaughter me and my

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companions, as they had done Charles Savage and Luis.

The priest then turned to Martin Bushart, and harangued him on the policy of our complying. At this moment the thought entered my head of making the priest a prisoner, and either to destroy him or regain my liberty. I tied Charles Savage's musket with my neck-handkerchief to the belt of my cartridge-box, and presenting my own musket to the priest's head, told him that I would shoot him dead if he attempted to run away, or if any of his countrymen offered to molest me or my companions. I then directed him to proceed before me to the boat, threatening him with instant death in case of non-compliance. The priest proceeded as directed, and as we passed along through the multitude, he exhorted them to sit down, and upon no account to molest Peter or his countrymen, because if they attempted to hurt us he would be shot, and they of course must be aware they would consequently incur the wrath of the gods in the clouds, who would be angry at their disobedience of the divine orders, and cause the sea to rise and swallow up the island with all its inhabitants.

The multitude treated their priest's injunctions with profound respect, and sat down on the grass. The Nambety (which is the term for priest)

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proceeded as directed towards the boats, with the muzzles of Martin Bushart's and Wilson's muskets at each of his ears, while the muzzle of mine was placed between his shoulders. Finding that night was approaching, and anxious to prolong life, I had recourse to this dreadful expedient, being aware of the influence and sway which the priests in all barbarous nations have over their votaries.

On getting to the boats, Nambety made a sudden stop. I ordered him to proceed. This he refused doing in the most positive manner, declaring that he would go no further, and that I might shoot him if I liked. I threatened to do so, and asked him why he would not go to the water's edge? He replied, "you want to take me on board alive, and put me to the torture." There being no time to spare, I told him to stand still, and turned my face to him with my musket presented, threatening to shoot him if he attempted to move until I got into the boat. We then walked backwards to the water-side, and up to our breasts in water, where we joined the boat, and had no sooner got into her than the islanders came down, and saluted us with a shower of arrows, and stones from slings.

Being thus once more out of danger, we returned thanks to Divine Providence for our

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escape, and proceeded towards the ship, which we reached just as the sun was setting. I expostulated with Captain Robson on his extraordinary conduct, in causing so many human beings to be unnecessarily sacrificed. He made use of some absurd apologies, and inquired if we were the only persons who had escaped: I replied, yes; but that if the natives could have made proper use of the muskets which fell into their hands on that occasion, we must all have been killed.

On inquiry, I found that only two of our musketeers had escaped: George, a New Zealander, and Oreyow, a native of Otaheite, both ordinary sailors belonging to the ship. The following is a list of the killed, who fell into the hands of the natives. The first six were a part of the ship and cutter's crew, *viz.*

1. Mr. Norman, first officer.
2. Mr. C. Cox, third ditto, son to Mr. Cox, paymaster of the New South Wales Corps. or 102d Regiment.
3. Jonow (a lascar), boatswain's mate.
4. Hassen (ditto) seaman.
5. Mosdean (ditto) ditto.
6. Louis Evans ditto. This young man was said to be the son of Governor Phillip, the first governor of New South Wales.

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The undermentioned persons, who joined us at the island on the terms before-mentioned, were also killed.

7. Charles Savage, a Swede, who had been shipwrecked in the *Eliza*.
8. John Graham, of New South Wales, discharged from an American.
9. Terrence Dunn, an Irishman, discharged from the *Hunter* last voyage.
10. Michael Maccabe, ditto, ditto from the English ship *City of Edinburgh*.
11. Joseph Atkins, ditto, ditto.
12. William Parker, of London, deserted from an American.
13. Luis, a Chinese, shipwrecked in the *Eliza*.
14. Pemi, of Otaheite, discharged from an American.

Mr. Ballard (the master of the tender) saved his life by being under arrest on board, and of course not one of the party.

The following persons were left on board the ship from the Bow canoes: Saoo, a Chinese, formerly one of the shipwrecked *Eliza's* crew; one lascar named Joe, formerly belonging to the brig *Hibernia;* three native females and one man from Bow, with one Friendly Island carpenter. One of the females was related to the royal family at Bow, and was the wife of Joseph Atkins: the second was the

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wife of Martin Bushart; the third the wife of William Sibley, one of the cutter's crew, who is now alive at New South Wales. These people begged of us not to land them at Vilear, where they would most undoubtedly be destroyed by the enemy, who had killed their chiefs and relations that morning. Captain Robson promised them to stand as near to the island of Bow as the wind would permit, and then embark the party into one of the canoes we had on deck, so as to enable them to return to their homes and friends. Our party landed from three boats, in each of which two armed boat-keepers were left in charge. William Sibley, who had charge of my boat, informed me that about forty of the Bow people had escaped to the canoes with their arms broken; some of them were desperately wounded. He endeavoured, by signs and gestures, to prevail on them to proceed with their canoes to the ship; but to this proposal they paid no attention.

I was immediately appointed to the command of the cutter, and all the strangers were ordered to embark in her. Captain Robson proposed to sail with both the ship and cutter next morning for China. I requested of him, as I was anxious to recover the bones of Mr. Cox, a young man for whom I had a great regard,

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to permit me to pull close in-shore next morning with two boats, and offer a ransom for them to the savages. To this he assented.

Next morning, the 7th of September, I pulled close in-shore, and got the native of Bow, who I had in the boat with me, to hail the Vilear people in their own tongue. On their answering and inquiring what we wanted, he informed them of our object. They replied that they had neither the flesh nor bones to spare, as they had all been devoured the night before. One of the savages held up the two thigh-bones of Mr. Norman (as he informed us), and inquired what I would give for them. I offered an axe. He exultingly laughed, and flourished the bones about, saying he would not sell them; that they would make excellent sail-needles to repair his canoe sails. The natives saluted us with a shower of stones and arrows, which we answered by a discharge of musketry, and then returned to the ship. The anchor was soon after weighed and we made sail.

On account of calms and light winds, we were not able to get out clear of the islands and innumerable reefs for six days. On passing the place where Captain Robson intended to send the Bow people into the canoe, it blew too hard for a canoe to exist, we were therefore obliged to proceed on our voyage.

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As Martin Bushart's wife was pregnant, and not far from her confinement, he, and also the Lascar, begged to be landed on the first coast we met with. On the morning of the 20th of September we came in sight of a small island, which we supposed to be uninhabited: here the captain was determined to land the whole party excepting the Bow man. This intention was made known to Martin Bushart, who approved of the measure. Pumpkin and other seeds were prepared for him, with a few fowls to breed from.

On approaching the island we found out our mistake, as it was thickly inhabited. Several of the islanders came off in canoes, who, we all conjectured, had never before seen Europeans. They were unarmed, but very wild. They came on deck without reserve, seized upon bars of iron from the forge, and jumped overboard with that metal, as also a frying-pan, the cook's axe, knife, saucepans, &c. The firing of a musket in the air had not the least effect upon them I became alarmed on account of the smallness of the cutter in which I was, as they had only to make one step out of their canoes on board of it. On flourishing a light-horseman's sword, however, and cutting a piece out of the rail, it alarmed them. Those on deck jumped overboard, excepting one, who was

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carrying off our compass, when one of the Beetee girls on board became alarmed at our danger, and therefore seizing him by the throat with one hand and by the privates with the other, in this way got him under her, where she certainly would have strangled him, had I not interfered. Order was soon after restored, when an elderly chief came on board, to whom we made several presents of iron-hoops, glass beads, &c. &c. The boat being got out, I embarked in her with Martin Bushart, the lascar, and chief. On reaching the shore the chief landed, and conducted Martin to the king, who was sitting under the shade of some cocoa-nut trees chewing the betel-nut. He made his majesty a few presents, and by signs, words, and gestures, informed him that himself, the Lascar, his wife, and others, were coming to reside on the island. The chief appeared much pleased with this arrangement, and they returned to the boat.

On rejoining the ship, Martin and the Lascar put their things into the boat, with Martin's wife. The other two women objected to go, and entreated me to beg of Captain Robson to take them to a country where there were ships, so as they might, by means of them, return home on a future day. They also represented to me, that if they landed here, they would, in the first place, run the risk of being ill-treated,

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if not killed, by the islanders; in the second place, they would never again have an opportunity of returning from this place to their own country.

I mentioned this conversation to Captain Robson. His reply was, "they must go on shore, as he had not the means of providing a passage back for them." I observed, that as I had been on shore at Bow for four months on the ship's duty, I felt interested for the king's subjects, and that I would undertake to provide for one of the females until a fit opportunity offered for her return. To these terms he consented. I then set out for the shore a second time, with the persons destined to reside there. On coming near the beach I found it crowded with the islanders, who appeared very clamarous. They invited me to land, which I declined, and gave them to understand I wanted one of their canoes to land the people out of the boat. The canoe having come off accordingly, Martin Bushart with his wife, and Joe the lascar, stepped into her and landed. The other Beetee girl would not land from the boat; neither did I compel her to do so, as I considered it the height of injustice to land against her will, the subject of a prince from whom we received so much attention, and whose brother, nephew, and sixty of his best men, were killed

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in our cause. I found in the course of the day that the islanders called their island by the name of Tucopia. They appeared to be exceedingly rejoiced on getting the three persons already mentioned on shore among them, and they invited me to land and sleep on shore that night. I made them understand that I must sleep on board the ship, and would call in the morning to see them.

I set out for the vessel and reached her at dusk. The captain was much displeased at my not having forced the poor woman on shore. He returned to the ship, at which time we set sail and steered to the westward. The next morning we were distant from a large high island about eight leagues.* Here the ship and cutter parted company: the former for Canton in China, and the latter for Port Jackson in New South Wales.

It is here necessary to observe, that I am now preparing a complete history of the Beetee Islands, from its first discovery to A.D. 1825, which will describe the manners, customs, &c. of these people, and also account for the persons taken off in the *Hunter*.

From the year 1813 to May 1826 I heard nothing of Martin Bushart. On my way then from Valparaiso and New Zealand towards Bengal,

* This afterwards proved to be la Pérouse's island.

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I came in sight of Tucopia on the morning of the 13th May, and shortly after several canoes put off from the shore and pulled towards the ship. In the foremost of them I recognized the lascar Joe, and invited him on board. He had not the most distant recollection of me until I made myself known to him, by saying I was the captain of the cutter which brought him from the Beetee Islands and landed him on Tucopia with Martin Bushart. He appeared to have forgot the East-Indian dialects, and could not reply to me or my servants, three of whom were his countrymen. His conversation was composed of a mixture of Bengalee, English, the Beetee, and Tucopia dialects.

The next canoe that reached the ship had Martin Bushart on board. Having invited him on deck, I found that he also had lost all recollection of me: until I reminded him of our old acquaintance, and providential escape from Vilear. He then informed me that no ship had visited the island for the first eleven years after he landed there; but that about twenty months back a whaler came off the island, and whaled for one month, during which time he went on board and remained with her until she sailed for England. He also mentioned that a second whaler had passed the island about ten months back, he went on board in a canoe, and remain-

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about twenty minutes, when she set sail and stood to the westward.

One of my officers informed me that the lascar Joe had sold my armourer the silver guard of a sword. I sent for it, and on inspection observed five cyphers on it, not one of which however I could make out. On inquiry of Martin Bushart how he came by it, he informed me that on his first arrival at Tucopia he saw in the possession of the natives several ship's iron bolts, chain-plates, axes, knives, china and glass beads, with the handle of a silver fork, and many other things. He at first supposed that a ship must have been cast away here, and that the islanders procured those things from her wreck, but upon learning the language about two years after he had landed on the island, he found out his mistake.

The natives then informed him, that those things which he had seen, with the sword-guard, had been brought in their canoes from a distant island, which they called Malicolo,* and that two large ships, such as the *Hunter* was, had been wrecked there, when the old men now in Tucopia were boys, and that there yet remained at Mannicolo large quantities of the wrecks. The lascar confirmed this report, and

* Since ascertained to be more correctly called Mannicolo or Vannicolo.

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said he had been there about six years back, and that he had seen and conversed with two old men who belonged to the ships. A native of Tucopia was then called in, who had returned from thence not more than six or seven months: he said that he had resided at the island where the ships were wrecked for two years, on his last visit, and that there were several parts of the wreck to be yet found. From all these statements being delivered in the undesigning manner in which they were, I immediately came to the conclusion that the two ships wrecked must be those under the command of the far-famed and lamented Count de la Pérouse, as no other two European ships were lost or missing at so remote a period.

I inquired of the islanders if any ship had been at Mannicolo since the two in question had been lost there. They replied, no: that ships had been seen passing the island at a great distance, but never had any communication with the shore.

I was very short of provisions, but notwithstanding this I determined to proceed to Mannicolo, and with such means as were in my power, to rescue from the hands of the savages the two survivors, who I had not the least doubt were Frenchmen.

I begged of Martin Bushart and the lascar

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to accompany me. Martin assented to my request, on condition of being returned to Tucopia; but the lascar positively refused compliance. Martin, however, succeeded in prevailing on one of the Tucopians to accompany us. That evening I shaped my course and steered for the westward, as it was in that direction the island of Mannicolo was said to lie. I had light winds and calms all night and the next day, and did not reach Mannicolo before the second day after leaving Tucopia. Here the ship was becalmed for about seven days, at the distance of eight leagues from the shore, and set to and fro by the currents. The ship was exceedingly leaky; added to which misfortune, we were short of provisions, occasioned by the length of our voyage: I therefore determined, with reluctance, to abandon the search for the present. I bore away before a light fair wind that sprung up, for the island of Indenny, commonly called Santa Cruz, on passing which the day following, several canoes came off, into one of which the native of Tucopia embarked and proceeded for the shore. During the night we were becalmed within a few leagues of the Volcano Island of Captain Carteret. We afterwards touched at the following islands before getting to Bengal, *viz.* New Ireland, Duke of York's Island near New Britain, in St. George's

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Channel, Pulosiang, the Dutch settlement of Bouro, one of the Moluccas, Savu, Christmas Island, and reached Bengal on the 30th of August. We laid at anchor in Gore's Harbour in New Ireland for four days, where we completed our water, and were visited by the islanders, who were completely ignorant of the several dialects spoken to them by the following persons, who were part of my crew and passengers :—*viz*. Brian Boroo, a prince of New Zealand; Morgan Mackmurragh, a nobleman of the same place; four natives of Otaheite, two of the Marquis Islands, and one of the Sandwich Islands.

I attempted to converse with them in the Beetee language, but without success; and Martin Bushart was not more successful with the Tucopian dialect. I then tried the Bengalee or Malay, but with the same result.

Convinced in my own mind that la Pérouse's expedition had perished at the island of Mannicolo, and entertaining a sanguine hope that, if means were immediately adopted, some of the survivors might still be rescued, I determined, on my arrival in Bengal, to use every endeavour to accomplish that object.

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CHAPTER II.

NEGOCIATIONS WITH THE GOVERNMENT OF BRITISH INDIA, WHICH LED TO THE FITTING OUT OF THIS EXPEDITION.

On the 19th September 1826 I commenced my correspondence with the Bengal Government by addressing the following letter:

To C. Lushington, Esq., Chief Secretary to the Government in Bengal.

Sir:—Convinced as I am that you partake of the spirit of philanthropy which has always marked the measures of the British Government, I shall require no apology for bringing to your notice the following circumstances, relative to the unfortunate French navigator Count de la Pérouse, whose fate has been involved in uncertainty for nearly half a century. Any intelligence relative to one who so zealously promoted the cause of science, and who fell a sacrifice to the pursuit, cannot but be welcome to the world, more especially to the nation which gave him birth.

I am further induced to this step by the decree of the National Assembly, made in 1791 (of which I have the honour to enclose a copy), which enjoins, "that all ambassadors, "consuls, &c. at the courts of foreign powers, do, in the "name of humanity and of the arts and sciences, engage "their respective sovereigns to charge all navigators and "agents whatsoever, to make every inquiry in their power "relative to the fate of the French frigates *Boussole* and "*Astrolabe*, under the command of M. de la Pérouse, "&c. &c." In conformity to this injunction, and the impulse of my own feelings, I shall now have the honour to lay

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before you, for the information and consideration of the Right Hon. the Vice President in Council, such intelligence as I possess on the subject, with the hope that the statement may be laid before the French authorities in this country, in order that steps may be taken to set a question at rest which has so long been agitated, and restore to their native country some of the crew of the French frigates, whom, I have every reason to believe, are still in existence on one of the islands in the South Pacific. I beg to premise, that I shall advance nothing but what I am fully able to substantiate by the most conclusive evidence, oral and collateral.

It will be necessary, to make my narrative clearly understood, to go back to the year 1813; and I beg, Sir, for your attention, as I fear I may be somewhat tedious.

In September 1813 I was an officer in the Bengal ship *Hunter*, Captain Robson, on a voyage from Calcutta to New South Wales, the Fejee (or more correctly the Beetee) Islands, and Canton.

While laying at the Fejees, we discovered that several Europeans were living on the islands: some had been shipwrecked, some deserters, and some discharged from various vessels which had touched at the islands prior to our arrival. We employed those men in the ship's boats, in collecting beche de mer, sandal-wood, and the other productions of the island. Unfortunately a misunderstanding arose between the natives of a town called Vilear, on the Sandal-wood coast, and an affray occurred on the 7th of September, in which all the Europeans were killed except myself, a man named Martin Bushart (a native of Stettin in Prussia, who had been on the island), and one of the ship's company, William Wilson. I beg to refer you for the particulars of the fight, and the means by which we escaped, to the Calcutta Government Gazette for the 6th of February 1817. Martin Bushart and a lascar, Achowlia, whom we also found on the island, took refuge on board the *Hunter;* and as they cer-

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tainly would have been sacrificed if they landed again, they begged Captain Robson to give them a passage to the first land he fell in with in the prosecution of his voyage to Canton. This he agreed to.

We sailed from the Fejees on the 12th of September, and on the 20th made land, which proved to be the island of Tucopia, in lat. 12° 15′ S., and east lon. 169°. This island is called Barwell Island in the charts, but Tucopia by the natives. The ship *Barwell* passed it in 1798. The Prussian and his wife, a Fejee woman, with the lascar whom he brought with him, requested to be landed on this island; they were left accordingly, and we proceeded on our voyage.

On the 13th of May 1826, in command of my own ship, the *St. Patrick*, bound from Valparaiso to Pondicherry, I came in sight of the island of Tucopia. Prompted by curiosity as well as regard for an old companion in danger, I hove my ship to off Tucopia, with the hope of ascertaining whether the persons left there in 1813 were still alive. Shortly a canoe put off from the land and came along-side: in it was the lascar. Immediately after another canoe came off with Martin Bushart, the Prussian. They were both in sound health, and were exceedingly rejoiced to see me. They informed me that the natives had treated them kindly; that they lived very comfortably among them; that no ship had touched there from the time they were first landed until about a twelvemonth previous to my arrival, when an English whaler visited the island for a short time, and a little after another whaler touched there. The lascar had an old silver sword-guard, which he sold for a few fishing-hooks to one of my people. I inquired of the Prussian where it had come from: he told me, that on his first arrival on the island, he saw in the possession of the natives the sword-guard, several chain-plates belonging to a ship, also a number of iron bolts, five axes, the handle of a silver fork, a few knives, tea-cups, glass beads and bottles, one silver spoon with a crest and

cypher, and a sword, all of French manufacture. He further stated, that as soon as he became sufficiently acquainted with the language, he asked the natives how they obtained those articles, as they said that the *Hunter* was the first ship they ever had any communication with. They replied, that about two days' sail in their canoes to leeward there was a large group of islands, under the general name of Malicolo, to which they were frequently in the habit of making voyages, and that they obtained these articles from the inhabitants of the Malicolo Islands, who had a number of similar articles in their possession.

Upon examining the sword-guard minutely, I discovered, or thought I discovered, the initials of Pérouse stamped on it, which excited my suspicion, and made me more exact in my inquiries. I then, by means of Bushart and the lascar, questioned some of the islanders respecting the way in which their neighbours procured the silver and iron articles. They told me that the natives of Malicolo stated, that many years ago two large ships arrived at their islands; one anchored at the island of Whanoo, and the other at the island of Paiou, a little distance from each other. Some time after they anchored, and before they had any communication with the natives, a heavy gale arose, and both vessels were driven ashore. The ship that was anchored off Whanoo grounded upon the rocks. The natives came in crowds to the sea-side, armed with clubs, spears, and bows and arrows, and shot some arrows into the ship, and the crew in return fired the guns and some musketry on them, and killed several. The vessel continuing to beat violently against the rocks, shortly went to pieces. Some of the crew took to their boats, and were driven on shore, where they were to a man murdered, on landing, by the infuriated natives: others threw themselves into the sea; but if they reached the shore, it was only to share the fate of their wretched comrades, so that not a single soul escaped out of this vessel.

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The ship which grounded on Paiou was driven on a sandy beach, and the natives came down and also shot their arrows into her; but the crew prudently did not resent the aggression, but held up axes, beads, and other toys as peace offerings; upon which the assailants desisted from hostilities. As soon as the wind moderated, an aged chief put off in a canoe to the ship. He was received with caresses, and presents offered him, which he accepted. He went on shore, pacified his countrymen, and assured them that the people on board were good and friendly men; upon which several of the natives came on board, and were all presented with toys. They soon supplied the crew with yams, fowls, bananas, cocoa-nuts, hogs, &c., and confidence was established between them.

The crew of the vessel were obliged to abandon her, and went on shore, bringing with them a great part of their stores. They remained for some time, and built a small vessel from the wreck of the large one. As soon as the small craft was ready to sail, as many as could conveniently get room embarked, being plentifully supplied with fresh provisions by the islanders. Several of their shipmates were left behind, and the commander promised to return speedily with presents for the natives, and to bring off the remainder of his crew: but she was never heard of afterwards by the islanders. Those who remained of the crew, distributed themselves among various chiefs, with whom they resided until their death. They had been left several muskets and some gunpowder by their comrades, and by means of these were of great service to their friends in battle with the neighbouring islanders.

The Tucopians asserted, that a great number of the articles are on the islands, in a state of preservation, which originally were taken from the vessels. About seven months before I touched at Tucopia, a canoe had returned from Whanoo and brought with them two large chain-plates, and an iron bolt about four feet in length. I myself spoke with

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some of the crew of the canoe which had last made the voyage to Malicolo. They said that there were abundance of iron materials still remaining on the islands belonging to the wrecks. Those which Martin Bushart saw were much oxydized and worn. The only silver spoon, as far as I could learn, that was brought to Tucopia, I regret extremely, was beat out into a wire by Bushart, for the purpose of making rings and other ornaments for the female islanders.

I have now in my possession the sword-guard and one of the rings made from the spoon, and some glass beads, all of which came from the wrecks.

The Prussian had never himself ventured to make a trip to Malicolo with the Tucopians, but the lascar had gone once or twice. He positively affirmed, that he had seen and conversed with two Europeans at Paiou, who spoke the language of the islanders. They were old men, he said, and told him that they had been wrecked several years ago in one of the ships, the remnants of which they shewed him. They told him, also, that no ship had touched at the islands since they had been on them; that most of their comrades were dead; but they had been so much scattered among the various islands, that they could not tell precisely how many of them were alive at the time. I have several other particulars of the conversations I held with the lascar and islanders, strongly corroborative of their statements; but I forbear mentioning them, as I fear I have already wearied your patience.

On hearing so many circumstances, all tending to confirm the suspicions which I conceived from the moment I saw the silver sword-guard with the cypher, I determined to proceed as quickly as possible to the Malicolo Island, examine the wrecks myself, and if practicable, bring off the two men of whom the lascar spoke, who said they were French. For this purpose I asked him to accompany me; but from the first I dreaded a refusal, and my fears were verified. He said he was married on the island, and comfortably settled; that it was his

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intention to remain there for life; and neither threats, intreaties, nor promises, could induce him to deviate from his resolve. I even promised to bring him back to Tucopia, but he would not listen to me. The Prussian, on the contrary, was tired of the savage life he had led for the last fourteen years, and was anxious to stay with me. I gladly acceded to his wishes, and also prevailed on a Tucopian to come with me, one of whom are at present on board my ship; and he shall be at any time forthcoming, to bear me out in the statement I have the honour to submit.

We sailed from Tucopia on the ... of May, and made the Malicolos in ...... days. Unfortunately as we made the land it fell a perfect calm, and continued so for seven days. At this time my stock of dry provisions was nearly exhausted, and there was no animal food to be procured on Tucopia. We lived principally on New Zealand potatoes and bananas. My vessel, too, was very leaky, from a long continuance at sea, and a person on board interested in the cargo had been, during my stay at the islands, particularly discontented, and had frequently and warmly remonstrated at what he considered my unnecessary and useless delay. For all these reasons, therefore, I determined, though with the greatest reluctance and regret, to take advantage of a breeze which sprung up, and continue my voyage; and, through the Almighty's assistance, I arrived at this port with much difficulty, on account of the leaky state of my ship.

I have thus, Sir, laid before you a plain and unadorned statement of the facts as they came into my possession, and trust that you, Sir, will excuse any informalities or inaccuracies which it may contain. I have from my boyhood been a son of the sea; it is needless to say, therefore, that "little can I grace my tale." It has truth, at least, for its ornament; and I trust the information it contains will not be unacceptable to the scientific men of Europe generally, and particularly to the French nation.

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I now, Sir, offer my services for the rescuing of the individuals on the Malicolos, whom, I firmly believe, belonged to the crew of one of the frigates under the command of the Count de la Pérouse, and I think my information respecting the South Sea Islands may be rendered available for the purpose. I have been for eighteen years engaged in the South Sea trade, and speak with fluency the language of most of the islands: besides, having the Prussian with me, he may be eminently useful. If, therefore, the French authorities in this country should think fit to employ me, I shall most willingly undertake the service. But, at the same time, I beg distinctly and solemnly to declare, that I am actuated by no hopes of emolument to myself in making this statement; and, let what may occur, I shall, if possible, revisit the islands, and bring off the Europeans if alive, and ascertain more accurate details relative to the wrecked vessels.

I now, Sir, conclude, gratefully thanking you for following me through the lengthy details I have thought it necessary to go into, and beg to assure you, that

I am, &c.

(Signed) Peter Dillon,
Master and Owner of the
ship St. Patrick.

Calcutta,
19th Sept. 1826.

In reply to the above letter I was invited to hold a verbal conversation with Mr. Lushington. This worthy gentleman, I am happy to say, coincided in all my views relative to the propriety of an attempt being made to rescue the unfortunate French survivors from the Mannicolos.

At this time I was about to proceed to Spanish America, in my own ship the *St. Patrick*, and it was first proposed that, on my return to-

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wards India I should touch at the Mannicolos, and bring off any person I found there belonging to the French frigates; but some days after, finding I could not sail for some time to come, I wrote the following letter :—

To Charles Lushington, Esq., Chief Secretary to the Government in Bengal.

Sir :—In consequence of the conversation I had with you a few days ago, relative to the unfortunate Count de la Pérouse, I beg leave to say, that there is no probability of my returning to South America for a considerable time to come, and I cannot, of course, render any assistance to the unfortunate survivors of the French nobleman's crew. However, for the sake of humanity and science, I hope some steps may be taken for their relief. Such an opportunity will never again offer. Here is Martin Bushart, the Prussian, mentioned in my former letter, who speaks the Tucopian language fluently, and could prevail on some of his friends to accompany any one who might be sent to Mannicolo, and through the means of those people all the necessary information relative to the shipwreck could be ascertained, in case the two Frenchmen seen by the lascar were dead.

I shall now submit the following proposal to your consideration :—In the first place, my ship, the *St. Patrick*, before she can go to sea requires to be docked and repaired. Should the authorities here deem it prudent to defray the expenses of the ship's repair and outfit, I would proceed immediately to the Mannicolos, and render the necessary assistance to the survivors, and, through the means of the Prussian and Tucopians, ascertain all the facts and particulars relative to the shipwrecks.

To secure the government here for what advances they might make, I would give a bottomry on the vessel, and make

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the insurance in their name to the amount of the sums advanced, with interest thereon. Independent of performing my duty towards the crew of the French ships, I would procure a cargo of spars, tortoise-shell, curiosities, &c. &c., which would enable me on my return to liquidate the sum so advanced on bottomry, and depend on the honour of the French government to remunerate me for my services. Should the Government here disapprove of the above plan, I beg leave to submit the following one:—namely, to supply me with one of the Bengal pilot vessels, manned and armed in such way as I may point out; and I will perform the voyage under their directions, still depending on the honour of the French government, and the faith of the French National Decree passed on the 9th of February 1791, for such remuneration as they may think proper to award for my services.

I have, &c.

Calcutta, (Signed) PETER DILLON.
10th Oct. 1826.

In reply to this letter I received a note from Mr. S. Fraser, acting secretary to government, Mr. Lushington having gone to sea for the benefit of his health. This caused me much uneasiness, as he was a kind and cordial supporter of my propositions. However, I was happy to find in his successor, Mr. George Swinton, secretary to the government in the secret and political department, and Mr. E. Molony, the acting secretary to government, two able friends and supporters, who rendered me every assistance in their power.—The note was as follows:—

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To Captain P. Dillon.

Sir :—I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 10th instant, and in reply to inform you, that the Right Honourable the Vice President in Council is fully disposed to assist in the furtherance of your liberal and humane views for the relief of the survivors of Count de la Pérouse's crew ; but before deciding on the steps to be taken, has referred your letter to the Marine Board, with a view to obtain a report from them as to the probable expense of repairing your vessel, and how far the bottomry and insurance offered by you may be considered as affording sufficient security for the reimbursement of any sum which the government may advance as requested by you.

I am, &c.

Council Chamber, 12th Oct. 1826. (Signed) S. Fraser, Acting Secretary to Government.

After receiving this reply I heard nothing more on the subject till the 25th of November, when Mr. Sargent, one of the members of the Marine Board, informed me that Mr. Sepping, the Hon. Company's marine surveyor, had examined my ship, and reported that the probable amount of her repair and outfit would be about 40,000 rupees, and that she would then be totally unfit for the Hon. Company's service, on account of her large size and draft of water. I was astonished at his report, knowing the vessel to be a beautiful model, perfectly sound, and built of the almost everlasting wood of Paraguay in South America. Knowing there was no appeal from the sentence

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of Mr. Sepping, I did not urge any farther the proposal of employing my ship; though I was well aware that the expense attending the out-fitting and sending of one of the Hon. Company's ships would amount to at least a lac and a half of rupees. Mr. Sargent asked me if I would have any objection to proceed to the Mannicolo Islands on the Hon. Company's ship of war *Ternate*, then lying at Rangoon, intimating that her commander would be placed under my directions: to which I replied, I had no objections whatever. He then informed me, that it was the wish of the Right Hon. the Vice-President in Council, Lord Combermere, that I should be despatched as soon as possible, and that a government steam-vessel was to proceed for Rangoon in a few days, when it would be necessary for me to hold myself in readiness, with my interpreters, Indians, &c., to embark in her, and proceed there to join the *Ternate* and sail for the Mannicolos.

On the evening of the first Wednesday in November I was invited by Mr. Horace Hayman Wilson, secretary to the Asiatic Society, to accompany him to a meeting of that distinguished body at their rooms in Chowringhee. I accordingly accepted the invitation, and on entering was introduced to several of the members. Before the meeting broke up, Colonel

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Bryant, one of its members, who sat next to me, entered into conversation respecting my voyages to and from the islands in the South Seas, and informed me that he attached great importance to my statement relative to the loss of the *Boussole* and *Astrolabe*, and that as a member of the Asiatic Society, which had been embodied for the purpose of disseminating knowledge, he considered it a duty incumbent on him to make a proposal to the meeting, to cause a deputation from their members to wait upon the Vice-President in Council, to recommend that some step should be taken to rescue the survivors of the Count de la Pérouse's expedition from the islands where they were supposed to have been shipwrecked. He further observed, that as the Count had been engaged in the pursuit of knowledge for the benefit of mankind in general, he or the survivors had a strong claim on the consideration of the Asiatic Society.

A motion was accordingly made to that effect, and unanimously approved by the meeting. The Hon. J. H. Harington, president of the society, and one of the members of the supreme council, mentioned, in an address from the chair, that he understood arrangements were making by order of the Vice-President in Council, issued to the Marine Board, for sending me, in the

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way proposed by Mr. Sargent, to Mannicolo; however, Colonel Bryant's motion should meet with his cordial support. One of the members then present, a medical gentleman on the Bengal establishment, said it would afford him great pleasure to accompany me on my expedition to Mannicolo, as he entertained a great love of scientific research. On inquiring who this person was, I learnt from Colonel Bryant that it was Doctor Robert Tytler, who had written so much on the cholera morbus, Ouse rice, the Queen of Sheba, Mount Ophir, and other such subjects. About half-past nine or ten o'clock the meeting broke up.

The next day Doctor Tytler met me at one of the auction-rooms, when we talked over the matter relative to la Pérouse, and he then expressed himself in the following terms: That he had a great wish to acquire a knowledge of the islands in the South Seas, and their productions; that he was particularly desirous of quitting Calcutta for ten or twelve months, being much persecuted by the public authorities, on account of his independent spirit in having brought to the notice of the public, through the medium of the gazettes, the "villanous conduct" (as he termed it) of the commissariat department in the late war with Rangoon, where thousands of his Majesty's subjects

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perished, as he alleged, through the measures adopted by the above department. He also stated, that he was placed in a similar predicament with respect to the officers of the Marine Board, having brought to the notice of the public their "inhuman" conduct in sending a ship to Arracan for the sick and wounded, which with the greatest difficulty could be prevented from sinking, owing to her leaky state. His eloquence, and the melancholy account he gave of his situation and sufferings, made such an impression on me, that I really fancied him a most patriotic and persecuted man; I therefore promised to use my interest to get him attached to the expedition as surgeon, and recommended him to write to the Government on the subject, expressing his wish to accompany me, that I and my friends might use our influence in his behalf. The return he made me for this act of kindness will hereafter appear.

On mentioning to a friend, a gentleman high in the civil service, my intention of taking Doctor Tytler with me, he remarked, "You will be much better without him; he never has been placed under the command of any individual as yet, whom he has not tried to scandalize and ruin: his general disposition is mischievous, and you will feel the effects of it before you

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return." This warning I was sorry to find so very soon verified.

I heard nothing more on the subject of the expedition until Saturday the 11th of November, when I was sent for by Mr. Sargent, who informed me that the steam-vessel would not be ready to sail for a considerable time, and that it would be a difficult matter to victual the *Ternate* at Rangoon for so long a voyage. That besides this, the European crew on board of her were engaged to serve in the country, and might object to go on so long a voyage: he would therefore recommend my taking the command of the Hon. Company's ship *Research*, which vessel had just arrived in the river from Rangoon, and proceed with her to Mannicolo. To this proposal I agreed. He then requested me to make out a statement of such a crew as would be required, and we immediately arranged that part of the business.

I then recommended that a surgeon, naturalist, draughtsman, and botanist, should be attached to the expedition, for the purpose of obtaining all the knowledge possible relative to the character of these unfrequented islands and their inhabitants; and observed, that if an individual could be procured (such as Doctor Wallich, of the Hon. Company's botanic garden)

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who understood the science of surgery as well as natural history and botany, it would be a great saving in the outfit of the expedition. I therefore ventured to propose my new friend and acquaintance, Doctor Tytler, to fill the above situation, as he had given me to understand that he was perfectly well acquainted with all the above sciences.*

On the 16th November I received the annexed letter, with the three documents which follow it, from Mr. E. Malony, acting secretary to the Government.

To Captain P. DILLON.

SIR:—In continuation of the letter addressed to you by Mr. Acting Secretary Fraser on the 12th ultimo, I am directed to inform you, that the Right Hon. the Vice-President in Council has this day been pleased to resolve, that the Hon. Company's surveying vessel, the *Research*, shall be placed under your command, for the purpose of enabling you to proceed to the Mannicolo Islands, with a view to obtain full and accurate information in regard to the shipwreck of the two vessels enumerated in your narrative of the 19th September last, which you consider, apparently upon very probable grounds, to have been the French frigates under the command of the Count la Pérouse, of whose fate no certain accounts have hitherto been ascertained.

I am likewise directed to forward to you, for your information and guidance, a copy of a resolution this day passed by

* He indeed pretended to every kind of knowledge, human and divine, with about as much justice as to the above sciences, as I soon after discovered.

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Government, in which you will find more particularly detailed the objects which this Government have in view, in fitting out the expedition now placed under your command. You will likewise receive herewith, copies of letters which have this day been addressed, by order of Government, to the Marine Board and to Doctor Tytler, respectively.

You will be pleased to place yourself in communication with the Marine Board, from which authority you will receive such further instructions as may be necessary for your guidance in the performance of the duty now entrusted to you; and it only remains to intimate to you, the reliance which Government places in your zealous exertions, to leave nothing undone to accomplish the object of this enterprize, and their most anxious hope that those exertions may be crowned with complete success.

I am, &c.

Council Chamber, 16th Nov. 1826.

(Signed) E. Molony,
Acting Secretary to the Government.

Extract *from the* Proceedings *of the Right Hon. the Vice-President in Council, in the General Department, under date the* 16*th November* 1826.

Read and recorded a letter from the Secretary to the Asiatic Society, dated 4th instant; a letter from Doctor R. Tytler, dated 6th instant; and a letter from the Marine Board, dated 13th instant.

Read again the proceedings of the 12th and 24th ultimo, on the subject of Captain Dillon's proposal to Government to proceed to the Mannicolo Isles in search of the survivors of the Count de la Pérouse.

Resolution 1. Upon a mature consideration of all the circumstances set forth in the correspondence above recorded, the Vice-President in Council is satisfied that the facts which have been laid before Government by Captain Dillon are

sufficient to justify the hope, that if proper measures are adopted, some certain information may be obtained in regard to the loss of the French frigates *Boussole* and *Astrolabe*, commanded by the celebrated Count de la Pérouse, whose fate, notwithstanding the most anxious inquiries during a period of nearly forty years, has never yet been ascertained.

2. The facts which are detailed in the narrative submitted by Captain Dillon, appear to have been accurately ascertained. They afford in themselves a reasonable ground for the conclusion that the French frigates were actually lost at the Mannicolo Islands, inasmuch as there is nothing connected with them, either as to date or geographical situation, which is inconsistent with the latest ascertained information on record, in regard to the course pursued by la Pérouse; and it is understood, in particular, that the sword-guard in the possession of Captain Dillon has been inspected by the officers of the French service, and is considered by them clearly to be of the form and description worn by naval officers of that nation at the period when the Count de la Pérouse is supposed to have been shipwrecked. They conclude, also, from an examination of the cypher on it, which appears to correspond with the initials of that unfortunate commander, that it probably belonged to him.

3. There appears, too, from the rest of the evidence adduced by Captain Dillon, to be at least a probability that some of the crews of the ships wrecked at the Mannicolo Isles (whether they shall really prove to have been those commanded by la Pérouse or others) are still in existence.

4. Adverting, therefore, to the above circumstances, to the anxiety which has been expressed by the French authorities at Chandernagore that the inquiry should be prosecuted, and to the deep interest which the fate of la Pérouse has ever excited in Europe, his Lordship in Council cannot doubt that the Hon. Court of Directors will fully approve any measures, founded on information holding out a reasonable

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hope of success, which this Government may adopt, for endeavouring to ascertain the fate of the French frigates, and of discovering and restoring to their country any of the survivors of their crews who may be found.

5. His Lordship in Council accordingly resolves, in pursuance of the recommendation of the Marine Board, that the Hon. Company's surveying vessel the *Research* shall be immediately fitted out in the manner proposed by the Board, and placed under the command of Captain Dillon, for the purpose of proceeding to the Mannicolo Islands, by such route and under such instructions as shall be furnished, and of endeavouring, by all practicable means, to ascertain fully every circumstance connected with the loss of the two ships alluded to in his narrative, as well as to discover any individuals of the crews of those vessels who may still be in existence.

6. The Marine Board will be requested to prepare and submit, for the approval of Government, a draft of any instructions with which they deem it necessary that Captain Dillon shall be furnished. From the long experience which Captain Dillon has had of the manners and customs of the natives of the South Sea Islands, it is obvious that much must be left to his discretion; and his Lordship in Council does not doubt that his proceedings, in furtherance of the important duty now entrusted to him, will be conducted with all the prudence required, without in any manner diminishing the zeal and energy which the occasion is calculated to call into action.

7. The Vice-President in Council fully concurs in opinion with the Marine Board, that an officer should be attached to the expedition in the capacity of naturalist and mineralogist, as likewise to afford medical aid to those engaged in it; and, accordingly his Lordship in Council is pleased to resolve that Dr. R. Tytler, a surgeon on this establishment, who has, with a spirit of enterprize highly creditable to himself, volunteered

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his services on the occasion, shall be attached to the expedition in the above capacity.*

8. Captain Dillon, as commander of the expedition, will of course direct all the proceedings which are to be adopted when the *Research* shall arrive at her destination. As the commander of the vessel, and the chief director of all the communications which are made with the natives on the islands, there is no doubt that Captain Dillon's time will be fully occupied, and therefore, in addition to keeping an accurate and full journal of all matters connected with natural history, mineralogy, and generally of a scientific nature, his Lordship in Council is pleased to assign to Dr. Tytler the additional duty of keeping a separate and complete journal of all occurrences, and of every information connected with the main object of the expedition; and his Lordship in Council is satisfied that this duty will be cheerfully undertaken and zealously performed by Dr. Tytler.

9. The Marine Board will be requested to select and nominate, for the approbation of Government, a fit person to be attached to the expedition in the capacity of draughtsman, reporting at the same time the scale of allowance to be assigned to the individual selected for that duty.

10. Adverting, likewise, to the anxiety which the officers of the French Government must feel in regard to the objects of the present expedition, his Lordship in Council is further pleased to resolve, that a communication shall be made to

* From the eagerness with which the Government embraced the offer of Doctor Tytler, it is clear they were very glad of so good an opportunity to get rid of him, at least for a while. He had some years before been sent off to Bencoolen, a remote convict station, with a similar view. Knowing his propensity to use his pen to the great annoyance of every one, they were well pleased at a prospect of finding employment where, it was to be hoped, his literary talents might be exercised in such a way as to do good instead of doing mischief.

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the chief of the French establishments in Bengal, with a view to ascertain whether he is desirous that a gentleman of that nation shall accompany the expedition. Should he nominate an individual for the above purpose, his Lordship in Council will direct that he be suitably accommodated on board the *Research*.

11. The Marine Board are authorized to communicate fully with Captain Dillon, and to take immediate measures for completely manning and equipping the *Research*, in such manner, both as regards stores and arms, as may be deemed by them necessary. His Lordship in Council likewise, adverting to the period (probably eight or ten months) during which he will be engaged on this duty, authorizes the payment of 6,000 rupees, as proposed by the Board, to Captain Dillon, as a compensation for his services; one-half of which they are hereby empowered to advance to him immediately. The Board are also authorized to attach to the expedition the several individuals enumerated in the last paragraph of their letter of the 13th instant, at the rate of pay therein specified.

12. His Lordship in Council further directs, that the Marine Board will call upon Captain Dillon to furnish them with a detailed statement of such articles as he may deem it advisable to take with him, for the purpose of making presents to the natives of the Mannicolo Islands, or of being exchanged for provisions, or to be otherwise used in facilitating the objects of the expedition. The articles to be shipped for the above purposes will, of course, be selected by Captain Dillon, and the Board are authorized to expend in the purchase of them a sum not exceeding 2,000 sicca rupees.

13. His Lordship in Council is pleased to assign to Dr. Tytler a salary of 800 rupees per mensem, in lieu of all pay and allowances which he would draw as a military surgeon: to take effect from the 1st proximo.

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To G. CHESTER, Esq. and the Members of the Marine Board.

Gentlemen :—I am directed by the Right Hon. the Vice-President in Council to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated the 13th instant, and, in reply, to forward to you the accompanying copy of a resolution this day passed by Government, on the subject of the expedition to be commanded by Captain Dillon.

You are requested to take measures for carrying the orders contained in that resolution into effect with as little delay as possible; and you will be pleased to submit at an early date, the draft of the instructions alluded to in the sixth paragraph: in preparing which, you will clearly keep in mind that the entire command of the expedition is to be entrusted to Captain Dillon, and that every person who is attached to it, is distinctly placed under his orders. The instructions should likewise contain distinct orders to Captain Dillon, to avoid all delay which can, consistently with the object in view, be obviated, and that he is to return to this port, after he has accomplished the duty entrusted to him at the Mannicolo Islands, with all practical despatch.

In nominating for the approval of Government an individual to accompany the expedition as draughtsman, you are requested particularly to specify the nature of the duties on which you conceive such an officer may be usefully employed, and to prepare such instructions for his guidance as you may deem proper.

With reference to the eleventh paragraph of the resolution, by which you have been authorized, in communication with Captain Dillon, to provide such articles for presents and barter with the natives of the Mannicolo Islands as he may consider necessary, to the value of 2,000 rupees, I am directed to intimate to you, that if Captain Dillon shall consider it advisable to take with him any number of muskets, or other small arms and ammunition, the number required can probably be conveniently furnished from the arsenal, on your mak-

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ing an application for that purpose to the Military Department.

With reference to the appointment of Dr. Tytler for the duties specified in the resolution, you will be pleased to assign to him suitable accommodation on board the *Research*. Doctor Tytler will, of course, be accommodated at Captain Dillon's table, for which you are requested to make suitable provision in directing the equipment of the expedition.

I have, &c.

Council Chamber, 16th Nov. 1826.

(Signed) E. Molony,
Acting Secretary to Government.

Extract of a Letter to R. Tytler, Esq., M.D.

Sir:—I am directed by the Right Hon. the Vice-President in Council to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated 6th instant, and, in reply, to transmit for your information a copy of a resolution this day passed by Government, in regard to the expedition to be commanded by Captain Dillon.

That document will put you in full possession of the duties which the Government expect you to perform, and the Marine Board have been directed to assign to you suitable accommodations on board the *Research*, in your capacity of naturalist and medical officer attached to the expedition.

In performance of the duties thus assigned to you, it is the wish of Government that you shall clearly understand that you are, in common with every other officer attached to the expedition, placed under the general command of Captain Dillon; and his Lordship in Council does not doubt that your cordial and most zealous endeavours will be exerted, to aid that officer in the final and successful accomplishment of the important object which has led to the undertaking.

I am, &c.

Fort-William, 16th Nov. 1826.

(Signed) E. Molony,
Acting Secretary to Government.

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On receiving the letter from Mr. Molony, with a copy of the proceedings in council, I was highly pleased to find Doctor Tytler had been appointed to the expedition according to my suggestions. My time of rejoicing, however, was short; for many days had not elapsed when I had occasion to regret that I had encumbered myself with so dangerous an assistant, as I discovered that he had already begun secretly backbiting and misrepresenting me, so soon as the object for which he had courted my friendship seemed to be secured.

In consequence of letters received from the Government and Marine Board, I entered into arrangements with Captain Clapperton, one of the assistants to the Master-attendant, to meet him and Mr. Seppings, the Hon. Company's marine surveyor, on board the *Research*, on the 22d of November, at 7 o'clock in the morning, when I took charge of her, and in conjunction with the surveyors made the necessary arrangements for fitting out the ship.

On returning to town from Kidderpore, where the ship lay at anchor, I called on my agent in Calcutta, and informed him of the engagement I had entered into with the Government, and requested him to take charge of my own ship, the *Saint Patrick*, with her cargo, and to dispose of both to the best advantage on

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my account. In a few days after the *Research* was hauled into dock for examination, and nothing being found necessary in the way of repairs, she was again hauled out. The crew then began to fit her out; but the want of gun-carriages, which had to be supplied, detained us a considerable time.

On Thursday, 14th of December, I was taken ill with a severe cold, and sent for Doctor Tytler; who came in, felt my pulse, ordered my head to be shaved, took thirty-two ounces of blood from my arm, and immediately after called in two other medical gentlemen. This attention I naturally supposed, arose from the purest motives of humanity. On this and the two following days I was up and walking about the room, not being in the least danger, as was evident from my ability to take such exercise, of which Dr. Tytler was well aware. On Sunday, the 17th, however, a friend called at my house, and seeing me out of bed and dressed ready to go to church, expressed great surprise. He informed me that within the last three days Doctor Tytler had made two communications to the Marine Board, in which he had represented me to be in such a state of health that it would be impossible for me to proceed on the voyage, and that it was therefore necessary, without loss of time, to appoint another com-

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mander to the expedition. He also alleged, that I was subject to apoplectic fits, that a return of them was to be expected, that I should be carried off by the first attack with which I was visited, and that I was now labouring under insanity.* I asked my friend how the man could be so void of good faith as to make such false representations; that through the whole course of my life I had enjoyed most excellent health, and safely could make oath that I never had a fit of any kind from the day of my birth. My friend replied, "You do not know Tytler: he is one of the most cowardly fellows on earth: he has been frequently horsewhipped and otherwise chastised for his insolence. He has been informed that you are not in the habit of allowing people to insult you with impunity, and therefore wishes to get you out of the way, that a creature of his own may be put into the command of the expedition."

My friend took his leave after staying with me about half an hour. Immediately after, the celebrated Doctor Savage, who wrote the account of New Zealand, one of the medical gentlemen called in by Tytler on the 14th ultimo, paid me a visit. He informed me that the day

* It is proper to notice here, that the person who invented this calumny, has long since been placed under restraint for the very malady which he wickedly imputed to me: so awful and speedy, sometimes, are the dispensations of retributive justice!

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before he had received a letter on service, requiring his opinion as to the state of my health, and whether I could with safety take charge of the expedition; to which he had replied, that he certainly saw nothing to prevent me. Doctor Adam, secretary to the Medical Board, the other gentleman called in by Tytler to see me, was of the same opinion as Doctor Savage. I could hardly bring myself to believe that any man in his senses could have acted in the treacherous manner that Tytler had done. On Monday, the 18th, I called on Doctor Fleming, who had been in the habit of acting as my medical adviser for the last ten years, and obtained from him a certificate that he had attended me for that long period, had always considered me to possess a very strong constitution, and never knew me to be subject to fits of any kind. I immediately after went to the police-office and had an affidavit drawn out, to which I made oath, to the effect that I was not subject to apoplectic fits or constitutional disease of any kind.

With these two documents I proceeded to the Marine Board, the gentlemen composing which were surprised to see me, after having been represented only two days before as so dangerously ill, that I should not be able to take charge of the expedition. I immediately after

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waited on the acting chief secretary of Government, who received me with his usual cordiality, and expressed himself quite at a loss to account for the motives that induced Doctor Tytler to make the statements which he did regarding my health. However, I soon unriddled the mystery, by plainly shewing him what Tytler's plans were.

While industriously circulating these reports of my utter incapacity to command the expedition, Doctor Tytler had intimated that with any marine officer to take charge of the ship, he was perfectly competent to conduct the expedition himself, and carry it through to the satisfaction of the Government, with the assistance of Martin Bushart and the South-Sea islanders.

Let me here observe, that I had been for many years collecting the intelligence and forming the connections that enabled me to undertake this expedition. That in my last voyage from Valparaiso, I had brought with me from different islands eleven natives of the South Seas, one of the rank of a prince, with another of noble birth sent as his companion, who were to serve me as guides and interpreters, besides Martin Bushart the Prussian; that I had maintained them for a long period by sea and land at my sole expense; and had also relinquished my own mercantile pursuits

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for the sake of this voyage of discovery, on which my whole mind was bent. What were my thoughts and feelings, then, to find myself nearly tricked out of it by a man brought forward and patronized by myself, who had never incurred one farthing of expense on account of the object in view, and who knew no more of the language or manners and customs of the South Sea islanders than the great Mogul!

I mentioned the above conduct of the Doctor's to some of my friends, who requested me to take no notice of what had passed. I complied with the advice of those who had so kindly interested themselves in getting my plans carried into execution.

About this time a paragraph appeared in the *John Bull*, a Calcutta newspaper, stating that the brig *Margaret*, belonging to Messrs. Montgomery and Co., and commanded by Captain Corbin, had sailed for the Mannicolo islands, to render assistance to the unfortunate survivors of la Pérouse's crew. The Doctor on reading over this paragraph became outrageous, and vehemently asserted that Messrs. Montgomery and Co. were interfering with the arrangements of Government, and ought to be sent out of the country; that it was shameful to attempt in this manner to deprive the person who made the discovery at the Mannicolo Islands of the reward

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to which he was justly entitled; though that such occurrences were not without a precedent, the great Columbus himself, the discoverer of America, was an instance. The Doctor then hurried from one end of Calcutta to the other, as if quite bereft of his senses, making inquiries about the mysterious voyage of the *Margaret* (which however all vanished in smoke). He concluded in his summary way by declaring that Montgomery and Co. ought to be transported for seven years to Botany Bay: so keenly was the Doctor alive to his own interest when the honour of the enterprize was threatened to be carried off by another party.

Finding all his artifices about my state of health were ineffectual, and that in spite of his predictions I had come to life again, the Doctor devised a new plan for upsetting the expedition. His attack was now on the vessel, and he gave out that the *Research* was completely unfit for the voyage; that she would not steer, sailed badly, and would certainly be lost. He applied to me to join him in a protest against the officers of the Marine Board for putting the Government to a useless expense, by selecting a vessel which they were aware was totally unfit for the voyage and must go down. I replied, that I considered myself as good a judge of a ship as he was; and that I and my crew were

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perfectly satisfied with the *Research*'s capabilities, and considered her a very fit vessel for the voyage; that if she proved otherwise, however, I would get another at Van Diemen's Land to assist me as a tender; and that he might protest if he thought proper, but not to attempt to mention my name in his protest. Thus ended for the present his attack on the character of the good ship *Research*. On the 23d of December I received the following letter of instructions from the Marine Board:—

Sir:—Government having been pleased to appoint you to the command of the Hon. Company's ship *Research*, for the purpose of ascertaining, if possible, whether the French frigates *la Boussole* and *l'Astrolabe*, under the command of the late Count de la Pérouse, were wrecked among the islands composing the archipelago to the northward of New Caledonia, which there is great reason to believe was the case from the information furnished by you, and, in the event of this conjecture proving true, to institute strict inquiry whether any of the officers and crew of those ships still survive; I am directed by the Marine Board to desire, immediately the *Research* is ready, that you will proceed to sea, and make the best of your way either to Port Dalrymple or the Derwent, for the purpose of procuring refreshments, replenishing your stores, and making such refit as may be required. Your course will be to the south-east, outside the islands lying off Sumatra, by which you will have the benefit of the north-west monsoons, and on getting the south-east trade, you will proceed to the southward, until you reach the westerly winds, when you will shape your way to Van Diemen's Land, to fill up your supplies at one of the places

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above-mentioned. This you will be careful to carry into execution with all possible despatch, and not suffer delay by any intermediate researches not connected with the object of the expedition.

2. On quitting Van Diemen's Land you will proceed to the north-east, keeping to the southward of Norfolk Island and to the eastward of New Caledonia and the New Hebrides, and being careful to give the two last a good offing, as well to avoid calm and variable winds in the neighbourhood of the land, as to give you sufficient easting to enable you to make the island of Tucopia without difficulty.

3. On arriving at Tucopia, you will, through Martin Bushart and the lascar, if still there, from each of whom you have already received much information, make any inquiry calculated to produce a further confirmation of the present impression, and endeavour by all means to induce the latter, or other inhabitants of the island who may be able to speak to the point, to proceed with you to the Mannicolo islands. It is not unlikely that on your arrival at Tucopia, you may find some of the inhabitants of the Mannicolos about to return from their periodical visits during the north-west monsoon.

4. The measures to be adopted in the immediate search of the Mannicolos must necessarily be left much to your own discretion. Should you be fortunate enough to discover the wreck of the frigates, you will endeavour to ascertain as correctly as possible all particulars of their loss, and be careful to obtain the most complete and satisfactory proofs obtainable of the identity of the vessels, as well as to recover any property which might be capable of being proved to belong to any of the unfortunate sufferers.

5. You will of course, in case of discovering the wreck, make the most minute inquiries as to the existence of any of the crews, and it is in prosecuting these inquiries that the Board consider your prudence, vigilance, and discretion, to be more immediately required, since they will necessarily lead to

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communications with the natives on shore much more minute than your inquiries after the wreck may require. Should any survivors be found, it is needless to say that you are to offer them the opportunity of returning to their native land, and to afford them every comfort in your power.

6. Should you, however, not discover the wreck in the islands situated to the westward of Tucopia, it will remain for you to be guided in any further research among the other islands, whether from the east towards the Louiscarde, or to the southward, by such information as you may have received. But before you proceed to act on any information which may tend to delay your return to this port after an unsuccessful search of the Mannicolos, you will call a meeting,* composed of Dr. Tytler, M. Chaigneau, the French officer who accompanies the expedition, and your chief officer, at which the probability of success is to be discussed, and the whole subject maturely considered, and you will consider yourself bound to abide by the decision of the meeting; which decision, with the reasons on which it is grounded, is to be recorded in writing at full length, and communicated to the Board for the information of Government. Should the voices be equal, you will of course have the casting vote, leaving the dissentient members the option of recording the reasons of their dissent. When the resolution is taken to return, whether successful or not, you are positively enjoined to make the best of your way to this port, and on no account to be led away by any desire for researches, however laudable in themselves, much less to admit of an hour's delay by motives of personal benefit to any individual on the expedition.

7. You will of course keep, for transmission to Govern-

* The proposed consultation was to be confined, it will be observed, to this point only, the course to be pursued in such a case as that supposed: in all other matters and emergencies, the commander of the expedition was to follow his own discretion.

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ment on your return, a duplicate of your journal, which is to be as full as possible on all subjects of nautical interest calculated to be useful to other navigators; and to lose no opportunity of observing, especially among the islands, whose bearings and distances are to be carefully noted at the same time, together with the depth and nature of the soundings. The observations themselves are to be noted in the journal, for the purpose of being worked at leisure. It is of importance that every island which you visit should be accurately described; its approach noted, whether dangerous or not; the anchoring places particularly marked, and their character described, as well as the best landing-places—whether water and refreshments are procurable—their quality—the description of articles best adapted for bartering with the natives—their character—all matters connected with the tides—the general state of the winds and weather—particularly when the monsoon changes. You are moreover particularly requested to ascertain, as far as possible, the extent to which the north-west monsoon prevails.

8. Although you are not to suffer yourself to be drawn away from the main object of the expedition, yet you are to allow every advantage to be taken of circumstances to enable Doctor Tytler to make observations in natural history. Dr. Tytler having been directed by Government to keep an accurate and full journal of all matters connected with natural history, mineralogy, and generally of a scientific nature, you will consider it one of your first duties to afford him all the assistance in your power, consistently with the more immediate purposes of the expedition: consequently you will afford every facility for the conveyance on board of all specimens of the animal, mineral, and vegetable kingdoms, which Doctor Tytler may be successful in collecting, and you can conveniently stow on board, causing the utmost care to be taken for their preservation. To secure accuracy in respect to the local position of the ship in the journal of Dr. Tytler,

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you are to furnish him in writing under your signature, at noon each day, with the latitude and longitude of the ship, noting whether by lunar observation, dead reckoning, or chronometer; and at intermediate times, when required by Doctor Tytler, you will in like manner make known to him the change which may have taken place.

9. Government having also authorized a draughtsman to be employed on the expedition, Mr. Russell has been appointed to that situation; and you are to allow Doctor Tytler to have the full benefit of his talents, in making such drawings as he may desire. Mr. Russell will, of course, take views of all islands, bays, harbours, headlands, &c., and construct such charts as may be necessary to shew the relative positions of the different islands.

10. At no period of the voyage are you to take on board any passengers, except such as may be required for the purpose of information relative to the object of the expedition.

11. It is scarcely necessary to urge on your mind the great advantages which must arise from conciliating the natives of the different islands which you may visit in your search; it will be one of your most essential duties to impress on all persons composing the expedition the absolute necessity of abstaining from every thing having a tendency to irritate the natives of any island, especially those belonging to the islands situated in the immediate vicinity of your search. The strictest injunctions are to be given as to the use of fire-arms, which are not to be resorted to but in cases of extreme danger, which however, from your intimate acquaintance with the general character of the South Sea islanders, and the opportunities you have for conciliating them, the Board trust will not occur.

12. Every precaution is to be taken to prevent collusion, by restraining the intercourse of the natives with the crew as much as possible; confining the bartering for commodities within moderate limits, and not allowing too many natives

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to be on board at the same time. This latter you can effect by means of your boarding nettings, which are at all times, when among the islands, to be spread.

13. The above precautions will reduce the opportunities for those petty acts of pilfering on the part of the natives, which have on so many occasions produced fatal results. It will nevertheless be incumbent on you to use every other precaution against surprise, never on any account suffering the deck to be an instant without an officer in charge of it, and on the alert.

14. The Board deem it also proper to warn you against placing too much confidence in the natives who accompany you from this port; by a judicious use of the articles intrusted to you as presents for the natives; a mild and conciliating tone in every intercourse with them; and, what is of as great importance as either, a mutual good-will and cordiality among yourselves, you will afford the best hopes of ultimate success.

15. You are not, during any period of your voyage, to allow an opportunity to pass without communicating to the Board, for the information of Government, the fullest detail possible of your proceedings.

16. The route which it may be most expedient for you to take on your return home, must be left to your own judgment and discretion, with a view to the most expeditious passage, which you will consider your sole object, after the search shall have terminated. On your arrival at Calcutta you are to wait on the Board, with your journal and all other papers or documents connected with the voyage.

17. The entire command of the expedition being intrusted to you under the sanction of Government, every person attached to it will be informed that he is distinctly placed under your orders. The Board have the fullest reliance that the confidence placed in your prudence, judgment, and discretion, will be met by a demeanour calculated

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to ensure perfect civility among all parties composing the expedition; who will be given to understand, that good conduct will not fail to secure to them the favourable consideration of the Government, while those who conduct themselves in a manner tending either to defeat or throw discredit on a project calculated of itself to keep alive the best feelings, will not fail to meet its severe displeasure.*

18. Since writing the above, the Board have been furnished by Government with a communication from Captain Cordier, the chief of the French establishments in Bengal, from which there is reason to believe that the French corvette *l'Astrolabe* was despatched in April last from Toulon, for the purpose of exploring the coast of New Guinea and those of New Zealand, with a view to discover the spot where the Count de la Pérouse perished.

19. You will very likely fall in with this vessel at sea, or at some of the ports or places at which you may touch, in which case you are desired to make the commander acquainted with the object and destination of the *Research*, and with the grounds for your supposing that the French frigates under the command of the Count de la Pérouse were wrecked on or in the vicinity of the Mannicolo islands.

20. The Board also desire it to be observed as an additional instruction, that all journals, papers, or documents of whatsoever description which may be in the possession of any individuals, including Monsieur Chaigneau (whose papers will ultimately, of course, be forwarded unopened to the French authorities) be sealed up by the person to whom they belong, and be delivered to you on your return to this port, for the purpose of being transmitted by you to this office; and there is another point, which is, that no individual on board the ship is to be allowed to take on shore with him any

* This caution was evidently thrown in as a warning to Dr. Tytler, whose late suspicious conduct had come to the knowledge of the Government.

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journal or documents of the above description, in the event of the *Research* touching at any intermediate port on her return from the Mannicolo islands.

I have, &c.

Marine Board, (Signed) J. TROTTER,
22d Dec. 1826. Secretary.

Before these instructions were given, framed on the information I had furnished, some persons, pretending to superior knowledge, had recommended that the *Research*, on sailing at the appointed time (the 15th December), should proceed through the Malacca Straits, across the China Sea, and out into the North Pacific through the Strait of St. Barnardino, which separates Luconia on the south from the other islands. I informed them, that to make a passage in the way proposed at this season of the year was impracticable, and I believed had never been attempted or thought of in the north-east monsoon, which blew directly from the point of the compass on which the ship's course lay, though I admitted that such a passage could be accomplished in the south-west monsoons with the greatest ease. I at the same time remarked, that if a passage in the north-east monsoon could be made across the China Seas out through the Straits of St. Barnardino, why did the English, American, Bombay, Madras, Calcutta, Penang, and Batavia ships, take

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the benefit of the north-west monsoon, and proceed to China by the eastern passage along the south coast of Java to Timore, and pass out thence through Bouro and Dampier's Straits, along the north coast of New Guinea, until they made sufficient easting so as to be enabled to run to the north-westward for Canton with the north-east monsoon? To these suggestions my opponents were unable to reply. I then inquired, if the passage they proposed was so easily performed, why had not the various ships bound to the east coast of New South Wales and South America adopted it in preference to going round Van Diemen's Land; and I begged of them to inform me whether there was a single precedent on record, naval or mercantile, of a vessel having passed out into the South Pacific, either by the Straits of St. Barnardino or by the north coast of New Guinea, through the channel which separates New Guinea from New Britain, Saint George's Channel, or round New Hanover? To all these questions I obtained no reply.

I then observed, that I was clearly of opinion that a passage into the Pacific was practicable during the north-west monsoon along the north coast of New Guinea, through St. George's Channel, or round New Hanover, but that it had never yet been adopted, except in the in-

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stance of the celebrated Dampier, in the *Roebuck* discovery ship, in A.D. 1704, having gone as far east as New Ireland, and having sailed along the east coast of that country to its south point (Cape St. George), and of his having there, in the month of March 1704, bent his course to the westward back to Timore. I also stated, that it came within my knowledge that an expedition was fitted out from India by order of the East-India Company in 1793 in the ships *Duke* and *Duchess of Clarence*, under the command of Commodore John Hayes (now master-attendant at Calcutta), for the purpose of exploring the east coast of New Guinea and adjacent islands, and that after losing several weeks in trying to pass to the eastward, they were obliged to bear up, and proceed round Van Diemen's Land, where they anchored in the Adventure Bay of Captain Cook. On this voyage the Derwent river was discovered by the commodore, and named by him. His discovery led to the colonizing (a few years after) of that part of Van Diemen's Land. It is now a flourishing colony, and *owes its existence to that gallant officer*.

A few days after this I was called on to attend at the Marine Board, where I was applied to, to state what route I meant to pursue towards the Mannicolos. I replied that it was my inten-

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tion to adopt the same route Commodore Hayes had pursued on his voyage in the *Duke* and *Duchess of Clarence* to New Guinea, and assigned my reasons as above mentioned for so doing. My plans being approved of, instructions were made out accordingly, directing me to proceed by the way of Van Diemen's Land.

Shortly after this conference I was furnished with the following letter, directing me to refresh the ship's crew at Van Diemen's Land.

To Captain P. DILLON, commander of the Hon. Company's ship *Research*.

SIR:—In continuation of my letter under date the 22d ultimo, and with advertence to that part which refers to your calling at Port Dalrymple, or the Derwent, in progress to the Mannicolo Islands, I am directed by the Marine Board to convey to you their authority for the purchase of such fresh provisions, &c., as you may find it absolutely necessary to provide for the crew of the Hon. Company's ship *Research*, under your command; and also in the event of your finding it requisite, to draw on the authorities there, on account of this Government, for such small sums as the circumstances of the case may call for, giving the Board the earliest information of your proceedings on this and all other points connected therewith.

I have, &c.

Marine Board, (Signed) J. TROTTER,
9th Jan. 1827. Secretary.

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CHAPTER III.

OCCURRENCES FROM CALCUTTA TO VAN DIEMEN'S LAND.

The subsequent occurrences of the voyage I shall give in the form of a diary, as they actually took place and were put on record in the journal of the *Research;* that being the shape in which the information conveyed will be most useful and acceptable to the mariner, the geographer, and the man of science.

6th Jan. 1827.—The carpenter's work being nearly completed, I determined to send a pilot on board in the morning to take the vessel down the river; but having some business to settle in Calcutta, I obtained permission from the Marine Board to remain in town until the ship got as far down the river as Diamond Harbour.

7th.—At 10 A.M. an assistant harbour-master came on board and hauled the ship from her moorings into the middle of the stream. Shortly after the sea pilot took charge and dropped her down the river with the ebb tide to Garden Reach, where she anchored for the night.

8th.—Shortly after day-light Mr. Lushington and Mr. Swinton, chief secretaries to Government, sent on board five garden boxes, contain-

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ing young coco-nut trees, to be planted on such islands in the Pacific as should be found to possess none of those most useful of all fruits.

11*th*.—From Monday to this day I was engaged in making the necessary preparations for the voyage and in taking leave of my friends; while the ship was gradually proceeding down the river with light and variable winds, which retarded her progress.

Having been late up at a farewell party last night, on arriving at my lodgings this morning I directed my faithful Prussian servant to desire my sircar when he came, to have my boat ready for embarking, and intimated that during the interval I would repose on the couch. Shortly after I was awoke by the servant and sircar, who informed me that during my sleep Doctor Tytler had slipped into my room, and commenced reading some of my letters and papers; but on perceiving me move in the bed, he withdrew in a precipitate manner, and inquired of the Prussian if I was very ill. The man replied that I was not *ill;* but that having at an early hour returned from a party, I had lain down to take a nap previous to embarking for the ship. The Doctor then inquired of my servant if I always slept with arms by the bedside? who answered in the affirmative. He then asked if I was in the habit of drinking

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spirituous liquors at sea. The Prussian informed him that I never drank liquors from the beginning of my voyages until the end of them; that on shore I was very abstemious, never taking any liquors in my own house, and only doing so abroad out of courtesy to my entertainers. The Doctor then begged of the servant to prevail on me not to go to the ship that day, as I was, he said, exceedingly ill, and that he would call again.

On being informed of the Doctor's strange proceedings, I began to suspect that he again intended to misrepresent the state of my health to the Marine Board: and it shortly appeared I was not mistaken, for having gone to the tavern to breakfast, on returning to my lodgings I found the Doctor with another medical gentleman at the door. He inquired in the most kind and affectionate manner how I found myself after *these violent attacks*, and if I thought the *state of my health* would allow me to go to sea. I replied, that I never was in better health in my life than at the present time, and that I intended to leave town for the vessel that morning. This declaration appeared completely to disconcert him, as he had brought the other medical gentleman (as I afterwards learnt) for the purpose of holding a *survey* on me, and reporting in conjunction with him, had his friend

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been base enough to do so, that I would not be able to proceed on the expedition.

The remainder of the day was spent in getting my baggage embarked in the boat, and waiting for the tide. During this interval, I was informed that the Doctor, ever plotting and restless, was busily engaged, endeavouring to obtain from Commodore Hayes and others, documents to prove that the *Research* was not seaworthy, to enable him to present a protest against the ship to the Government, so as to put a stop to the expedition as now planned.

At about half past six this evening I left Calcutta for the ship, and anchored abreast of the Budge Budge Hotel. At day-light next morning we moved forward, and arrived on board the *Research* at eight o'clock. The pilot got the anchor up twice that day, but let it go again, being prevented from proceeding by a thick fog coming on.

15*th*.—Nothing remarkable having occurred since the 12th, I shall pass over those days. The anchor was got up several times; but we were obliged to let it go again, the winds blowing up the river, counteracting the strength of the ebb tide.

This morning we reached Diamond Harbour, where we anchored. I received instructions from the Marine Board to proceed no further

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without orders, some difficulty having arisen in procuring a register for the ship. I also received private letters from town cautioning me to be on my guard when Doctor Tytler joined the ship, as it was his intention to get rid of the voyage by some artifice, and that if his other schemes failed in accomplishing his point, he would most likely endeavour to provoke me into a quarrel, which would afford him an excuse for carrying his design of leaving the ship into execution.

16*th.*—Not being allowed to proceed down the river till further orders were received, I employed the crew as necessary about the rigging, and getting the water-casks refilled which had been emptied on the passage from Calcutta to this place.

At eight o'clock we sat down to breakfast. At this moment the Doctor joined the ship, accompanied by his natural son, a youth of about fourteen years of age, and Captain Speck, a passenger.

As had been foreseen, the Doctor this same day raised a dispute on board, by insisting that I should victual from my own table a person named Helmick, employed as his dresser, or what on board ship is usually called a loblolly boy. I politely informed him, that according to the orders of the Marine Board, that person

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should be victualled, not from my table, but in the same manner as the petty officers and European part of the crew. The Doctor said in an imperious tone of voice, "I wish to see those orders." Though the demand was an impeachment of my veracity, I informed him he had already seen them; but, as a matter of courtesy, not as a matter of right, I would allow him to see them again. He started up in a violent rage, and said, he could not sit there and hear me make use of such ungentlemanly language, in presence of the second officer, as to tell him he had no right to see my letters; and that he would immediately protest against my conduct, and not proceed an inch with the ship until the business was settled. After this ebullition of violence he began to write a long despatch to the Marine Board, which when ended he read to me:—As nearly as I recollect, it stated that, notwithstanding the orders of the Board regarding the keeping up of a good understanding between all parties on the expedition, I had refused to victual his dresser Helmick from the cabin table. I tried, in the most gentle manner, to dissuade him from troubling the Board on a subject they had already settled; and at the same time asked (knowing him to have been an enthusiastic admirer of masonry) whether this was proper

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conduct for a freemason to use towards a brother? In a loud voice he exclaimed, "what is freemasonry, sir? you are a public servant, and I am another: if you have any thing to communicate, write to me officially." Finding that any further attempt at conciliation or concession on my part was useless, and that he was determined to raise a quarrel, as had been intimated to me by letter, I resolved to preserve my coolness, and disregard his insolence as long as possible. I found it necessary, however, to write a letter to the Board detailing the true state of the case, that they might see what the Doctor's conduct had been when he was only seven hours on board the ship. I also requested the second officer to commit to paper what he recollected of the Doctor's conversation with me, and as it corroborated my statement, I sent a copy of it to the Marine Board with my own letter.

What rendered the Doctor's demand, with the insolence which accompanied it, more aggravating and unreasonable, was, that I had already out of kindness to him voluntarily undertaken to victual his son (before mentioned, p. 83) at my own table throughout the voyage, at my sole charge, free of any expense to his father: who now tried to thrust upon me another of his dependents; while there were

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many others in the vessel who had a much stronger claim on my consideration, as the New Zealand prince, and my faithful follower Martin Bushart, who looked up to me as a parent and protector.

17*th*.—Not being able to depart to-day from Diamond Harbour, on account of the register not being yet sent, I employed the crew as necessary about the rigging, artillery, small-arms, &c.

18*th*.—Received orders to proceed to Kedgeree. At nine weighed and made sail, and stood down the river. At eleven, the flood coming in, anchored a little above Culpee. The carpenter was employed fitting cleats and making a cabin for the dresser Helmick. At half-past three weighed. At sun-set came-to off the Silver Tree in seven fathoms: wore to thirty-five fathoms: furled sails.

In reply to my letter of the 16th instant, addressed to the secretary to the Marine Board respecting the surgeon's assistant, I received the following:

To Captain P. Dillon, commander of the Hon. Company's ship *Research*.

Sir:—I am directed by the Marine Board to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated yesterday, and in reply to acquaint you, with regard to the dieting of Leonard Helmick, dresser to Doctor Tytler, that he should, the Board think,

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in addition to the rations already allowed him, be furnished with fresh victuals from your table to the extent of a plate-full at each meal, and for which an allowance will be made you, to be adjusted on your return, of two sicca rupees per diem.

I have, &c.

Marine Board, (Signed) J. TROTTER,
17th Jan. 1827. Secretary.

This letter shews at once the laudable disposition of the Marine Board to conciliate the outrageous person who was unfortunately to accompany us; and proves the utter groundlessness of his first *public* attack on my conduct, commencing as it did, 1st. with a charge against me of defrauding his dependent of the provisions due to him; 2d. with an imputation on my veracity, in demanding *written* proof that I was not defrauding him of any thing; and 3dly. with an attack on my public character, in accusing me to the Board of violating my instructions. The assignment of a new ration for the loblolly boy, with an allowance for the same, proved clearly that no such allowance or ration had previously been intended.

19*th*.—At day-light weighed, made sail, and run a little below the Silver Tree, where we anchored. At eleven again weighed and made all sail, but in consequence of a strong tide made little progress. At two P.M. Mr. Seppings, the Hon. Company's Marine Surveyor, came on

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board with the ship's register, and orders to proceed on the voyage.

20th.—At daylight weighed and made sail, and at nine passed Kedgeree: carpenter employed caulking in the ports. Noon, light north-east winds, making but little progress over the flood tide. At half past four P.M. anchored in eleven and a half fathoms in Saugor Roads, and sent on board an Indiaman to get some caulkers to assist in caulking in our ports. Furled sails. Wore to forty fathoms. Midnight, pleasant breezes and thick weather.

21st.—Commenced with moderate breezes and thick weather. Employed getting ready for sea. Carpenter and two caulkers from the ship *Rose* employed caulking in the ports. Noon, northerly winds and gloomy weather. At four finished the caulking, weighed, and made sail. At sun-set came to an anchor off SaugorPoint in nine and a half fathoms, wore to thirty fathoms, furled sails, and hoisted the top-sail yards to the mast head, ready for a start in the morning.

22d.—At day-light weighed and made sail. At eight P.M. came too in the eastern channel in five and a half fathoms, with the starboard bower; wore to thirty fathoms, and furled sails.

23d.—About six A.M. we got the anchor up, set all sail, and stood down channel towards the floating-light. At half past eight we passed the

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Reef buoy, and shortly after one of the pilot brigs sent a boat to the *Research* to take out the pilot. We immediately set all sail and passed the *Torch* floating-light vessel at eleven o'clock. The *Torch* is moored in the eastern channel of the Tail of the Saugor Sand, for the purpose of guiding ships into the proper channel in both monsoons.

At noon the latitude observed was 21° 3′ north, and longitude 88° 27′ east. The carpenter of the ship appearing to be a very indifferent one, and totally unfit to perform the duty for which he shipped, I disrated him.

24th.—This day commenced with increasing breezes and fine weather; the latitude at noon was 19° 57′ N., the longitude by chronometer 88° 0′ 30″. Run about seventy-one miles from noon yesterday on a S.½E. course.

Shortly after noon I received a letter and book from Doctor Tytler, ruled to contain the ship's latitude and longitude each day at noon. This book being made out in a different way to that in which I was directed to supply him with the ship's situation each day, I declined making any entry in it. The letter contained a request, or rather a demand, that I would allow my private servant, Martin Bushart, to undergo a private examination in the Doctor's cabin. This I considered an extraordinary demand, as he

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was not on the sick list, and wrote the Doctor a letter to that effect.

This day at dinner the first officer and myself had some conversation respecting a Mr. Fresher, a botanist and naturalist at New South Wales. I said it was my intention to get him to proceed with us on this voyage to aid us in our scientific researches. Doctor Tytler immediately remarked that he would be very glad of it. The cause of my making the observation was, that Doctor Tytler had frequently asked me if he could not get a few stones and fragments of rock at Van Diemen's Land, to fill up the chest sent by the Bengal Government for specimens of natural history. I replied, that specimens of botany, mineralogy, &c. the produce of Van Diemen's Land had already been well ascertained by naturalists of the first-rate ability, and that it would be exceedingly wrong to impose on the Government such trash as he mentioned, while there were many valuable specimens of botany and natural history to be procured at the islands to which we were bound. The Doctor replied, that it was immaterial whether it were clods of dried mud or stones of any sort: so that he brought a *large* cargo it would answer the purpose, as there was no person, he said, in the Asiatic Society capable of judging as to their qualities. He further

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stated, that on the expedition being first fitted out, Mr. Swinton had informed him that the Court of Directors were very much displeased at large sums being paid to some naturalists, botanists, &c. (whose names I forget), who had been employed by the Bengal Government in the Burmese territory, and who had sent very few specimens of their researches to the Asiatic Society; that as he was determined not to be censured on that score, he would bring them a plentiful supply of earth, clods of mud, stones, logs of wood, &c. &c. I, of course, considered it my duty to prevent the Government from being imposed on in the way he proposed; and determined to engage Mr. Fresher, or some other man of science, the first opportunity, in order to promote the enlightened views of the Asiatic Society and my honourable employers, to render the expedition as useful as possible to the cause of science.

25th.—This day the wind appeared inclined to settle in the proper quarter for the north-east monsoon weather. The latitude observed at noon was 18° 27′ N. and longitude 88° 14′ E. We ran ninety-five miles upon a S.½E. course to-day. The weather began to increase in heat, the thermometer in the shade standing at 78°.

The Doctor favoured me with another long letter to-day on the subject of holding examina-

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tions in his cabin, to which I had not time to reply; but I mentioned to my New Zealand friends that the Doctor wished to converse with them. They replied, "We have seen the Doctor abuse you very much at Diamond Harbour. You are our friend, and protector; you have brought us from our native country over a sea three months long (referring to the length of the voyage from New Zealand), and you have victualled and clothed us: you have also loaded us with presents to take to our country; you are the relation of our fathers and friends in New Zealand: we are therefore directed by our god to fight for you. Those men that are not your friends cannot be our's. We will not speak to the Doctor. We will kill and eat him if he land in our country."

On hearing this plain statement, I did not wish to force them to converse with the Doctor, knowing it to be useless. I however recommended them, for the sake of their New Zealand god, and all my friends and relations in their country, on no account to molest the Doctor; saying that if they did, Lord Combermere, who had behaved so kind to them, and appointed this ship to carry them home, would be angry. The prince paid some attention to this remonstrance; but "his excellency" Morgan M'Murragh was inflexible in his resolution, and openly

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declared that it was positively his intention to have the poor Doctor grilled as an entertainment for his numerous wives and friends, the first opportunity that offered after his arrival in the river Thames in New Zealand.

I should not have mentioned this conversation, were it not that I wish to shew those in civilized life what the poor, ignorant, and uncultivated savages of New Zealand are capable of doing, and how susceptible they are of the sentiment of gratitude.

26th.—Throughout these twenty-four hours the winds were settled and steady in the north-east quarter. Our latitude observed at noon was 16° 28′ S.; the longitude by chronometer was 88° 53′. We run S.½E. per log one hundred and twenty miles this day. The thermometer in the shade stood at 80°. I had occasion this morning to enter the second officer's cabin, to open a clothes-chest of mine kept there, not having room for it in my own. On the top of the chest lay an open book, in which I observed my name mentioned, and curiosity inducing me to read it over, I found it contained words to the following purport: "That on the 24th instant, Doctor Tytler had said to the second officer that I (the captain) was mad, and had all the actions of a madman; that he had observed

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me eating the carpenter's chips, which he said was a symptom of madness, and that I ought therefore to be confined to my cabin, and lose a large quantity of blood," &c. I was much alarmed at these remarks, and immediately perceived that the Doctor was still plotting how to upset the expedition, and place himself at the head of it. That, all other means of effecting this having failed, he was now attempting to deprive me of the command, and make me a prisoner on board, under pretence that I was insane.* I immediately loaded my pistols, and mentioned what I had observed to my faithful Prussian servant Martin Bushart; at the same time directing him to be on the watch as to what passed between the Doctor and officers, to acquaint me with it immediately, and be ready to come to my assistance. I then wrote a letter to the Doctor, in which I stated to him, that after what had happened, I deemed it an imperative duty to adopt every precaution to prevent mutiny and insub-

* Having once got me into his hands, and ruined my character with the ship's company, he could easily foresee that it would be impossible for me to resume the command, after the course of medicine and Bedlam-discipline which he had prepared for me, and which would have been enough, under such circumstances, to disturb, if not destroy, the intellects of the most sane and temperate person in the world.

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ordination in the ship, and that as to permitting him to hold private consultations in his cabin, it was out of the question.

January 27.—Fine weather throughout these twenty-four hours; winds from N.E. to N.N.E. The ship was at noon in latitude 14° 10′ N.; longitude 88° 14′ E. We ran by the log 143 miles, S. by E. the last twenty-four hours, and experienced a current setting to the westward.

Having occasion to be much displeased with Doctor Tytler's conduct, both at Calcutta and on board the ship, I wrote him a letter which I hoped would make a favourable impression on his mind, and deter him from prosecuting his mutinous schemes any farther. I informed him that I was perfectly aware of his treacherous conduct towards me at Calcutta, in attempting to prevent my going with the expedition, into which I had brought him, by insidiously endeavouring to obtain proof that I was in such a state of health and of mind as to disqualify me; that I had not forgotten his outrageous proceedings immediately on joining the ship, when he insolently impugned my conduct as a public officer, my character as a commander, and my honour as a gentleman, by alleging that I was defrauding his dependent,—and misrepresenting my orders, to justify it; that I bore in mind his proposal of imposing on the Government

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chests of worthless rubbish as specimens of natural history; and had yet no evidence that his proceedings towards myself were more honest and sincere. That, after such occurrences, he could not expect me to rest entirely satisfied of his sense of duty to me as his superior officer; especially when it was well known that he had not scrupled to violate one of the first and most sacred of human laws, in possessing himself of the wife of a person in whose house he resided; thus at once outraging the feelings of a husband, and profaning the sacred roof of hospitality; and, for the last fourteen years, he had been indulging in the fruits of this achievement with the wife of the person whose peace of mind he had destroyed for ever. Could I reasonably hope that he would be more restrained by a sense of duty or of gratitude to me, or have more respect for the rights of his superior officer, when it was notorious that for many years he had been engaged in quarrelling with and libelling his superiors in authority, as well as others, particularly the Commissariat, and the late lamented Sir David Ochterlony, on whom after his death he heaped the foulest aspersions. I concluded by warning him, that if he proceeded in such a course with me, he would find he had to deal with a person of some firmness and decision.

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27th.—This day at dinner the Doctor's conversation, as usual, was employed in ridiculing the ship to the lowest pitch, in the hearing of the officers, servants, and seamen at the wheel, and predicting her loss, apparently with the view of getting the crew to rise on me and force me to return. I knew that, with proper encouragement, they would not hesitate a moment in doing this, being all nearly four months' pay in advance; and that they might use, as a plea of justification, the apprehensions under which they were placed by Dr. Tytler's representations, regarding him as one of the leaders of the expedition, which he took care to represent himself to be; on this account I determined, the first time that he should make use of similar language again, to inquire what he meant by it.

28th.—At 10 A.M. divine service was performed on the quarter-deck for those who chose to attend; for I did not consider it proper to force all hands to prayers, there being several Roman Catholics, Presbyterians, and Mahometans on board. We were favoured with fine monsoon weather throughout these twenty-four hours. Our latitude observed at noon was 12° 7′ N.; longitude by chronometer, 88° 28′ E.

We sat down to dinner at the usual hour, and Doctor Tytler introduced his favourite topic of

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ridiculing the ship, talking in a vociferous tone, so that all the people on board might hear him. He commenced by saying that the *Research* would not steer, and must certainly go to the bottom in a high sea; that she was fit for nothing but a rice hulk; and, though she might get so far on her passage as Van Diemen's Land, that if she proceeded farther, she would certainly be knocked to pieces on the rocks of Tucopia, and, to give more force to what he said, he professed that such was the opinion of the head of the Marine Board at Calcutta. On these remarks being made, I observed, by the altered countenance of some of the individuals within his hearing, that his harangue and gloomy predictions had made a strong impression on their minds.

It would now appear that the Doctor himself left Calcutta under great apprehension of being lost in the ship; and, being of a weak and superstitious turn of mind, he used all means in his power to get clear of her. His language to-day might be used for the purpose of intimidating the young officers and crew from proceeding, in hopes that they would take the ship from me or compel me to return. If either of these events took place, he would have an excellent opportunity of escaping from his engagement with the Government, and from the dangers which his visionary imagination pictured as ready to

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swallow him up on the voyage. His ridiculing the ship was besides intended as an insult to me, because I agreed in opinion with the officers of the Marine Board as to the *Research*'s capability to perform the voyage to the Mannicolos and back. He was much displeased with me because I would not be so accommodating as to join him in a protest against the officers of Government charged with the management of the marine affairs.

I consequently rose from the table, much disgusted at his conversation, and was immediately followed by the first officer, who remarked to me that the Doctor had began his old discourse again. I replied, "I will shortly put a stop to it."

But from the circumstance which I saw recorded in the second officer's log-book, of the 24th instant, with the Doctor's subsequent conduct of to-day, I suspected that a mutiny had long been hatching, and would probably break out on my adopting any measures to check its ringleader. Not knowing who might be concerned in it or not, I deemed it prudent first to take the precaution of arming myself and followers, and I resolved to lose my life rather than the ship should return, or my person be arrested, as the Doctor had proposed. I then called for the gunner, asked him where my blun-

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derbuss was, and told him that there was a person on board trying to bring about a mutiny, and that it was time to arm and prevent it. Upon hearing this, the Doctor interrupted me, saying, "Captain Dillon, there is not the least occasion for this trouble; I will do whatever you wish me."

I then asked what he meant by ridiculing the ship in the way he had done, if it was not his intention to deter the young and inexperienced officers and others on board from proceeding on the voyage, or to breed a mutiny in the ship, so as to cause her return to Calcutta.

He replied, that he heard those opinions expressed by Captain Crawford and other gentlemen in Calcutta. I replied, that this allegation (which indeed was a libel on those gentlemen, who had fitted out the expedition) could be no excuse for his mutinous conduct; and that, if he persisted in acting thus, I would, if necessity compelled me for the general safety, bring him to the capstan and have him flogged with five dozen, or put him in double irons.

This plain unvarnished declaration of mine, uttered under the impulse of that indignation his perfidy could not but inspire, had a much better effect than if I had converted a ream of paper into letters. The Doctor, now alarmed about the consequences of his misconduct, pro-

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mised to behave better in future; on which I withdrew from the cuddy.

29th.—The day commenced with fresh breezes and cloudy weather; as such it continued to eight P.M., when it had a very squally and unsettled appearance. In expectation of meeting with bad weather, took in all the small sails. Being still under some apprehension on account of Doctor Tytler's mutinous conduct, I sent him a letter on service, which is hereafter inserted, pointing out the impropriety of his proceedings. I also had an indirect hint to-day of his secret endeavours to have me confined. Considering him upon the whole a very dangerous man, I determined not to furnish him with the ship's situation at noon in future.

To R. TYTLER, Esq., surgeon to H. C. S. *Research.*

SIR :—Your conduct yesterday, and on various occasions since having left the Pilot, has been such, as to cause me to be much alarmed for the safety of the ship and welfare of the expedition entrusted to my care; I therefore take this opportunity of informing you, that should you in future pursue a similar line of conduct, I shall be put to the disagreeable necessity of close confining you, till an opportunity offers of handing you over to a military tribunal for trial.

Your aspersions on the ship, and predictions of the dreadful disasters which are to befal her, in the presence of the crew, cannot, for a moment, be misunderstood. You are discontented and disappointed; you therefore wish to breed a disaffection between the officers of the ship and myself, and to

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deter every individual on board from proceeding on the intended voyage.

It is to be hoped you will consider and see the impropriety of your proceedings, and adopt a more honourable and honest line of conduct; if not, I shall be necessitated to have recourse to more rigorous measures than that of confining you.

H. C. S. *Research* at sea, I have, &c.
29th Jan. 1827. (Signed) P. Dillon.

During my late residence in Calcutta, four of the eleven South Sea Islanders whom I brought with me died of consumption; two of them were from the island of Otaheite, one from Owhyhee, and one from Whylootackey. The latter, with another now on board dangerously ill, were the two first who ever left their native country. The poor man, who could not survive many days, was inconsolable for the loss of his countryman and fellow-traveller, who had died at Calcutta.

I was also sorry to find that a very good man, named Wahoey, a native of the Marquis Islands, who had sailed with me for nearly two years and a half, was dangerously ill, and not likely to recover.

Latitude at noon this day 9° 54′ N. Longitude by mean of two chronometers, 88° 30′ 30″ E. Longitude by account, 90°.

30th.—Nothing remarkable occurred during these twenty-four hours. The weather somewhat inclined to be squally with dark clouds,

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flashes of lightning, and drizzling rain at intervals. This is rather unusual for the north-east monsoon.

31st.—We had fine weather throughout this day, and made a rapid progress on our passage. The latitude at noon was 5° 50′ N., and longitude 88° 21′ E. About seven A.M. there were four tropic birds flying about the ship, of the white tail species: they were the first aquatic birds I observed since we sailed. The current I found setting as yet to the westward; and although we steered south and by east the last twenty-four hours, with the wind free, we did not make better than a south course. Nothing remarkable having occurred, or likely to occur at sea, out of sight of land, it cannot be expected that the journal for this part of the voyage should contain any matter interesting to the curious reader.

The two Indians as yet remain dangerously ill; their loss to us would be serious, as they could be of great use on the present expedition.

At half past nine P.M. the weather became very squally, with rain. Took in the small sails, and reefed the top-sails. Towards midnight the wind shifted to south-east and south, where it is likely to continue for some time.

1st Feb. 1827.—The early part of this day,

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the weather was squally, with rain and dark clouds all round. At half past four in the morning I wasawakened by a sudden crash upon deck; and on going out, found that the whale boat on the larboard quarter of the ship had fallen into the sea, from the slings having given way. I immediately shortened sail, and after much trouble got the boat hoisted up, but she was so much staved as to be useless. Towards noon the weather became somewhat steady, and the wind appeared to settle in the north-west quarter, which disappointed me much, as I expected the north-east monsoon to take me to 3° north latitude, where I should meet with variable winds and calms until I entered the north-west monsoon in 3° south.

The sun being clouded at noon I could not get the latitude: the ship's situation at noon, by account, was 4° 39′ N., and the longitude brought forward from chronometer No. 1 was 88° 27′. Being apprehensive of bad and squally weather, got the guns housed, and the ports lashed in.

About half-past twelve at noon I was much surprised to find Doctor Tytler in close conversation with the man at the wheel, and taking his attention from his duty. I mentioned to both of them the impropriety of such conduct, and directed the officer of the watch not to

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permit any person in future to converse with the man at the helm.

2d.—Throughout the first half of this day the winds were light from the north-westward, with cloudy weather. At noon the breezes increased a little, but the weather continued so cloudy till sunset as to prevent my getting sights for the chronometer. The sun having shewed out a little before twelve o'clock, I got the latitude correct, which was 3° 30′ N. The longitude brought forward from chronometer No. 1, 88° 41′; by dead reckoning it was 90° 57′.

This forenoon we got the whale boat hoisted in upon deck and broke her up, she being rendered totally useless by the accident of the 1st instant.

3d.—The first eight hours of these twenty-four were rather squally with light rain, the wind variable from west by south to north. At noon the sun was clear: observed the latitude 2° 3′ N., longitude 88° 46′ E. The thermometer in the shade on deck stood at 82°.

At two P.M. the heaviest squall we had yet met with passed the ship; but we did not feel it much, having taken in our sails in time. About eight P.M. we had another smart squall; when the wind shifted to the south-west, and backed again to the westward.

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4th.—This day was ushered in with strong squalls and light rain, and so continuing, we made and shortened sail as necessary. The weather being unsettled, the officiating chaplain was prevented performing divine service on deck as usual. The latitude by a bad observation shewed our situation to be 17′ N. of the equator; longitude 89° 7′ E. At half past three this afternoon, supposed the ship to be on the line. I was extremely sorry to find my young friend Bryan Boroo, the New Zealand prince, ill of the measles, which I fear he caught from a boy, the servant of M. Chaigneau, the French gentleman on board, who sickened of that complaint two days after we sailed.

5th.—The first and latter part of this day the weather inclined to be squally, with light rain; middle part fine clear weather. On observing the sun at noon, I found we had crossed the line, the latitude being 1° 33′ S.; longitude 90° 25′ E. The prince Bryan Boroo was ill of the measles, three other South Sea islanders confined by illness, and one of them so unwell that his recovery was despaired of.

Nothing remarkable having occurred since the 5th instant, I pass over the interval without any observation; and the reader will understand the same practice to have been followed, henceforth, when he finds many days passed by

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without any remark; the ordinary state of the winds, weather, clouds, &c. having little or no interest for the general reader, being neither amusing nor instructive.

9th.—At one o'clock this morning Tariou, a native of Whylootakey, the first of his countrymen who ever ventured to quit his native island, departed this life. I was extremely sorry for his loss, which deprived me of the pleasure of restoring him safe to his friends and country. He had been rather sickly for a short time at Calcutta, but recovered, and joined the ship in good health. The first seven days of his illness the surgeon visited him but once, of which I had occasion to take notice; and after this he remained some days without nourishing food. I sent the chief officer to the Doctor, to point out the necessity of allowing him and the other sick some sago or arrow-root, which he complied with. At half past seven A.M. we committed his remains to the deep, sewed up in his hammock with two twelve-pound shot attached to it; one of the Otaheitans on board, a christian of the Protestant persuasion, performing the funeral service extempore over the body. Another of the islanders was on the Doctor's list ill of the measles. Latitude at noon was 6° 8′ S., longitude 95° 17′ E.: the thermometer in the shade 84°.

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12th.—Light airs and calms, with hot sultry weather, throughout the day. Five Europeans, six Indians, and one lascar ill of various complaints, and unable to perform their duty on board.

Finding the surgeon paying no attention to the food of the sick, and that ten of them were drawing salt provisions, ordered the same to be discontinued till further orders, substituting sago, arrow-root, &c. Latitude at noon 8° 16′ S. longitude 98° 42′ E.

This morning a young bird of the booby species rested on the rigging. It was immediately made prisoner, and a drawing of it taken by the draughtsman.

14th.—Moderate breezes from the westward throughout the day, with passing showers of light rain early in the morning and late at night.

Found the officers of the ship much inclined to quarrel among themselves. In breeding their quarrels I was sorry, but not surprised, to find that Doctor Tytler had taken an active part. I admonished the young men, and pointed out to them the necessity of observing decorum and unanimity, on account of the respectability of the service, and for the satisfaction of their honourable employers, which considerations I trusted would prevent similar occurrences in future.

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We were visited this day by several aquatic birds; one gannet perched on the rigging, and was captured by a sailor. Latitude at noon 9° 51′ S.; longitude 100° 32′ E. Thermometer on deck 83°.

15th.—Unsteady weather throughout the day. Having entered a part of the ocean little frequented by navigators, gave the officers of the watch strict charge to keep a good look-out a-head, and to go forward occasionally to remind the men of their duty. Latitude observed 11° 22′ S.; longitude 101° 42′ E. Thermometer on deck 84°.

16th.—Light breezes and calms: passed under the sun in the forenoon. At 6. P.M. Huno, a native of the Marquis Islands, who joined me in the *St. Patrick* at Otaheite in December 1825, died after an illness of eight days. Huno had joined this vessel in good health; I therefore sent the first officer to the surgeon (who considers no disease to be contagious) to ascertain the nature of the complaint of which this man died. His reply was that he did not understand his complaint, being ignorant of the Marquis dialect. Latitude observed at noon 12° 38′ S.; longitude 102° 36′ E. Thermometer 84°.

17th.—Light airs and calms, with rain and unsettled weather throughout the day.

Our having yesterday passed the 12° of

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south latitude, which is said to be the southern limit of the north-west monsoon, and being about to enter into the south-east trades, I supposed to be the cause of the unsettled state of the weather. Close in with the coast of New Holland, on former voyages, I have found the westerly winds extend as far as the 15° of south latitude at this season of the year.

Got the between-decks properly cleaned out and fumigated, with the view of eradicating the disease which seemed to be spreading in the ship.

17*th.*—This afternoon the chief officer, and a sailor named Dale, were taken ill. Latitude at noon 13° 11′ S.; longitude 102° 51′ E.; thermometer 82°.

18*th.*—Strong breezes from the westward with a high head sea; the vessel pitching very much, and shipping seas so as to render the cooking difficult. Latitude at noon 13° 40′ S.; longitude 103° 42′ E.; thermometer 82°.

20*th.*—The wind this day settled to the E.S.E. which proved to be the true trade.

21*st.*—Fine strong trades throughout the day. At two o'clock we sat down to dinner as usual; but the surgeon was immediately called away to render assistance to a lascar who had fallen from the upper deck into the fore-hold. He did not appear to be in the least hurt. On

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inquiring the cause of this accident, I was informed that the man had been smoking an intoxicating and poisonous plant called gunja, well known in the East; I therefore gave directions to have the lascars' chests examined, and whatever gunja was found to be brought to me. Shortly after the officer returned with one bag and a parcel of this deleterious plant, which was immediately thrown overboard, to prevent further accidents from its intoxicating effects. Latitude 19° 12′ S.; longitude 103° 31′ 30″ E.; thermometer 80°.

21st.—Being much annoyed for some time by the offensive odour intruding from Doctor Tytler's cabin into mine, which was separated from it by a thin Venetian only, I discovered that the scent was occasioned by the Doctor, his son, a tailor, a dhoby (or washerman), and one khansaman (or butler), in all five persons, with their personal baggage, &c. sleeping in the same apartment, which was only nine feet nine inches long by eight feet four inches wide, in a tropical climate, with the thermometer standing at upwards of 80°. To prevent the contagion which might arise from this heterogeneous litter, I determined to put an end to their sleeping thus in future, and in the evening issued orders to that effect.

26th.—Throughout the day a perfect calm,

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with cloudy weather. Got no observation for the latitude, and no sight for the chronometers, for three days past. At half-past three this morning, Wahoey, the Marquis man, died of a decline, with which he had been long affected. He was the seventh that had died of the natives who accompanied me to Calcutta from the islands. Committed his body to the deep at half-past seven, sewed up in his hammock, with some 18lb. shot to sink him. Shortly after a large shark came close to the ship, and was caught with a bait; but in hauling it on board escaped. It immediately returned to the bait; I gave directions, however, not to attempt to take it, being apprehensive that the body of our unfortunate shipmate had been devoured by the voracious monster. The thermometer stood at 76°.

Received a complaint from the second officer, that Doctor Tytler had thrown a Bible at his head, and endeavoured to irritate and insult him by various sarcasms: such as, that he swore all the week and read prayers on Sunday; that his dress in performing divine service was not sufficiently clerical, and the like. The officer hinted to me that he must decline reading prayers in future if subjected to such scurrilous remarks.

27th.—At half-past one this day, the second

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officer came and informed me that there was "a mutiny fore and aft the ship," to use his own words. He stated, that on the 24th of January last Doctor Tytler had endeavoured to persuade him that I was mad, and ought to be confined to my cabin; that I was acting contrary to my instructions, and had all the actions of a madman. He requested him to watch me; adding that he might observe me sometimes eating the carpenter's chips, which was a sure symptom of a certain species of insanity. He also informed me that on the 28th of January last the chief officer shewed him a letter on service which he had received from Doctor Tytler, who stated that, as medical officer in charge of the expedition, he would recommend my being confined to my cabin, being deranged, and requiring to lose a large quantity of blood. The second officer said that he had represented to the other officers his intention to inform me of this mutinous act of the Doctor's, and that he often told them he considered the Doctor's life in his hands, as the letter was clearly sent with no other view than to cause me to be laid violent hands on, and placed at the Doctor's mercy.

I then called the chief officer into the cabin, and inquired into this affair. He admitted having received a letter from Doctor Tytler, con-

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taining the words mentioned by the second officer, and that the reason he did not inform me of it was that he was unwilling to cause further troubles on board. He added, that Doctor Tytler asked him next day if he had received the letter, which he acknowledged he had.

I then called the draughtsman of the ship, who said he also had seen the letter, and taken a copy of it, which he destroyed about three days ago. He admitted, however, that its contents were as represented by the second officer; and stated that, soon after seeing it, he had a conversation with Dr. Tytler, when the latter declared that I was mad.

From all this corroborating evidence, and collateral circumstances, proving the existence of a settled plan to deprive me of the command of the ship, and throw me into confinement on the pretence of insanity (after which I might have been disposed of according to the Doctor's will and pleasure), conceiving my person to be in danger, I immediately resolved to adopt decisive measures. My first step was to place Dr. Tytler under arrest. I walked up to him on the quarter-deck, and clapping my hand upon his shoulder, said aloud, "I arrest you in his Britannic Majesty's name." I considered this to be the proper mode of proceeding, and that going through the regular form openly

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would render it more solemn and impressive. This I state thus particularly, because, strange as it may seem, the simple circumstance of placing my hand upon his shoulder was laid hold of by quibbling lawyers as a ground for subjecting me to an expense of above five hundred pounds, under the fictitious plea that it constituted an assault and breach of the peace!

This will be a caution to all commanders in future, that the maintenance of subordination and of their just authority, the preservation of the ship, and the prevention of bloodshed, with the attainment of the objects of the voyage, however important, may be held as nothing by the quibbling sophistry of the law, in comparison with the monstrous informality of touching a mutineer's shoulder, in pronouncing the words, "I arrest you in his Britannic Majesty's name!"

After the Doctor's arrest, not knowing to what degree the spirit of insubordination might have extended, having observed him often in private conversation with the sailors, who were many of them from the same part of the kingdom as himself, and uncertain therefore how far an artful intriguer might have succeeded in ingratiating himself with these rude and simple men, having also lost confidence in some of my officers, from knowing that they had for many weeks concealed from me these underhand

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mutinous proceedings, I first placed a sentry at my cabin-door to prevent the danger of immediate attack; and as there were some arms, the property of the Government, in the Doctor's cabin, I directed the chief officer to secure them, so as to preclude the Doctor and his adherents from making any resistance.

Shortly after I sent the chief officer a letter on Government service, to be read to the Doctor, of which a copy is subjoined:

To the Chief Officer H. C. Ship Research.

Sir:—I will thank you to call upon Doctor Tytler, and inform him that, notwithstanding his mutinous conduct (in trying to get me arrested on board the ship I now command, and his wish to bleed me to death, or to ruin my constitution by his pretensions), that it is not my wish to close confine him to his cabin. He may therefore walk the deck as usual; but, on no pretence or account whatever, is he to converse with any individual belonging to the ship.

After reading this letter to him in presence of another officer, you will please to return it to me immediately.

At Sea, I am, &c.
27th Feb. 1827. (Signed) P. Dillon.

P.S. You will, at the same time, inform Doctor Tytler, that he no longer can be allowed to take a seat at my table, but will be supplied from it with such food as he may require at each meal. (Signed) P. Dillon.

The following memoranda were added to the letter by the chief and second officer:

I, the undersigned, do hereby certify that I read the contents of this letter to Doctor Tytler as directed, and that

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his reply was, he would rather stop in his cabin; by so doing he would give no offence.

Feb. 27, 1827, 5 P.M. Signed by the Chief Officer.

I, the undersigned, do hereby certify that this letter was read in my presence to Doctor Tytler by the first officer. The Doctor replied, that he would much rather continue in his cabin, if he was not allowed to communicate with his brother officers, until he was handed over to justice at Van Diemen's Land.

Signed by the Second Officer.

Feb. 27, 1827, 5 P.M.

In the evening I distributed six or seven pairs of pistols amongst some old and trusty shipmates, with directions to be ready to use them when called on.

2d March.—Light breezes from the eastward. Shortly after daylight we were visited by a pair of tropic birds, which bore us company throughout the day. Latitude at noon 28° 16′ S., longitude 98° 36′ E. Thermometer in the shade, 72°. Caught a fish of the Boneta species, which weighed ten pounds and a-half.

14*th.*—At an early hour this morning we were visited by a whale of the black species, which came so close to the ship that the two small orifices or breathing-holes in the head could be plainly seen: the animal appeared to be about thirty feet long. We were also favoured with a visit from a few albatrosses and other aquatic birds.

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On inquiry this morning, I found there was one man ill of a bowel complaint, who had been unwell from the time we left Calcutta; that another had lost the use of his limbs the night before last, and a third was incapable of doing his duty from an attack of the rheumatism. I therefore wrote to the chief officer a letter on service, to be read to the surgeon in presence of the second officer, to the following effect, *viz.*

"That he should inform the surgeon that a few of the crew were indisposed and required medical assistance, which assistance I requested, as a point of duty, he would render without delay.

"That as the surgeon, I was informed, was disposed to remain in his cabin during the continuance of the cold weather, sooner than disturb him from it, I would cause the sick with an officer to wait on him there: that is, if he would rather prescribe for them there than on deck, or in their quarters."

On this letter being read to the Doctor he agreed to attend to his duty, which he had discontinued doing ever since he had been placed for two hours under close arrest.

28th.—Throughout these twenty-four hours strong gales from W. by N. to W. by S. with a high sea, the vessel rolling gunwale in and shipping seas in various parts. At intervals

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there were several of the most furious squalls I have ever met with by sea or land. At an early hour this morning we were obliged to close reef the top-sails. Our quarter boats were raised from their slings into the mizen rigging by the violence of the squalls, where we lashed them for the present. At noon the sun shewed our latitude 43° 21′ S. The longitude was 133° 35′ E. Run by the log 180 miles on an E.¼S. course. Thermometer on deck 53°.

With a view to ease the vessel of her top weight I got the mizen top-mast struck, and the top-gallant yards sent down on deck: we then struck the top-gallant masts. In performing this duty, the main-top-gallant mast broke short off at the sheave-hole in the mast head. Towards night the gale appeared to abate, the squalls being neither so strong or frequent as in the early part of the day.

31*st.*—Winds from W.S.W. to W.N.W. the first and middle part of this day: at dusk it shifted to N.N.W. Our latitude 43° 22′ S. at noon; the longitude, by mean of two chronometers, 144° 1′ 30″ E. The thermometer on deck 55°. Run 150 miles on an E. by N. course.

The sea appeared of a light colour, as if we were at no great distance from land. The chronometers at noon shewed the distance of the S.W. Cape of Van Diemen's Land to

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be ninety-one miles and a-half on an E.¼S. course.

At a quarter before 11 P.M. the watch called out "land a-head." I immediately went forward, and could plainly see the south-west Cape of Van Diemen's Land bearing from E.N.E to E. by S., at a distance of seven or eight leagues.

About midnight hauled to the southward under easy sail to wait for daylight. At this period the wind blew almost a hurricane.

1*st April.*—The day commenced with very strong gales from the north-westward, accompanied with tremendous squalls of hail and rain: expected to see the fore-yard broke to atoms every moment. Finding it exceedingly dangerous to approach the coast in such violent unsettled weather, I determined to scud away to the S.E. and heave-to. The seas ran mountains high: one of them stove the gig boat on the poop.

At 8 P.M. hove-to under the main top-sail close-reefed, and was glad to find the ship kept-to remarkably well. The weather continued throughout the night as above. It was extremely cold, and the poor lascars rendered unserviceable by the severity of the weather.

2*d.*—Strong gales throughout the first and middle part of the day, with hail, rain, and sun-

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shine, the sea breaking over the ship in various parts. The seamen were employed repairing the damage sustained in the rigging last night and this morning.

At 4 o'clock this afternoon the violence of the gale appeared to abate. At midnight the weather became settled, and I bore away under easy sail to the N.W. by N.

3d.—Moderate breezes throughout the day with fine weather. Winds from south-west in the morning: towards noon shifted to the northward, where it settled with fine weather. Latitude 44° 7′ S., longitude 148° 45′ E. Thermometer on deck 53°.

4th.—The first and middle part of the day the wind blew a moderate breeze from the northward: latter part inclined to calm. At half-past 6 A.M. the shores of Van Diemen's Land were in sight from the South Cape to Cape Pillar. At noon the following head-lands were in sight: the Eddystone, bearing W.; Tasman's Head, N. and by W. one-half W.; Fluted Cape, at the entrance of Adventure Bay, N.; Cape Pillar, N.N.E. At 3 P.M. got soundings in fifty-two fathoms sandy bottom, off the entrance of D'Entrecasteaux's Channel. At midnight Tasman's Head bore W. and by N. two leagues: the wind so light that the ship had not steerage way.

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5th.—First part of the day, light airs and calms, with fair weather; latter part moderate breezes from the southward, with rain. At daylight Penguin Island, at the entrance of Adventure Bay, bore W.N.W.; distance off two leagues. Cape Frederick Henry, W.N.W., Cape Pillar, E. half S. At 2 P.M. a moderate breeze sprung up from the southward. Took advantage of this chance, set all sail, and stood in for the river Derwent. At 6 P.M. entered the river, and at 9 P.M. came to anchor in fifteen fathoms water two miles from Hobart Town.

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CHAPTER IV.

OCCURRENCES AT VAN DIEMEN'S LAND.

6th.—At daylight went on shore to report my arrival. Doctor Tytler requested permission to land, which I could not comply with, as the New South Wales port regulations forbid the landing of individuals in their ports prior to permission being obtained from the governor.

At half past ten I was introduced by the Collector of Customs to the Lieutenant-governor of Van Diemen's Land. I made him acquainted with the objects of the expedition, which appeared to afford him great pleasure, and he applauded the Bengal Government much for their philanthropy. I then informed him that I required supplies of provisions, and was authorized by the Government to draw on the authorities at Van Diemen's Land for such sums as might be requisite to defray the ship's disbursements. In reply, he told me that he would do every thing in his power to expedite the ship's departure from Van Diemen's Land, and directed me to transmit him the powers with which I was furnished, saying he would

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send for the commissary, and arrange the matter without delay. He directed me to call next day at ten o'clock, when I informed him there were two passengers on board, the one a French gentleman, consul from France for Cochin-China; the other a Captain in the Bengal army. He directed me to bring them on shore with me to his office next day, and I then took my leave.

Shortly after quitting the government-house, the Collector of Customs followed me into the street, and delivered the following message: "Captain Dillon, the Lieutenant-governor sends his compliments to you, and directs me to inform you that he has received a letter from Dr. Tytler, and that he will feel obliged if you will allow the Doctor to land." My reply was, "certainly." I then went on board the ship in company with the Collector, and sent a message to the Doctor, giving him permission to go on shore, but intimating that I expected he would return in the evening; on which the Doctor left the ship. In consequence of the promises made me, I immediately bespoke supplies of provisions, &c., and made arrangements to sail on the 11th.

7th.—This morning I went on shore according to appointment, accompanied by M. Chaigneau and Captain Speck of the Bengal

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army. We arrived at the back-door of the Lieutenant-governor's residence, which was on the road side, at ten o'clock. An orderly demanded our business, and I informed him that we came according to an appointment made yesterday. The orderly then entered the house, and shortly after returning informed me that the Lieutenant-governor was engaged, but would see us in a few minutes. The morning was excessively cold, and we were attired in our light Indian clothes: the thermometer standing in the open air at 39°. My companions, as well as myself, were thus detained in the open street, where we suffered much from the cold, until half past twelve o'clock, when we were ushered into the Lieut.-governor's office. He informed me that he had seen the commissary, and he found it was not convenient to assist me. I strongly remonstrated, and assured him that I had bespoke my supplies in consequence of the promises he had made me the previous day, and that those with whom I had made my arrangements would not allow me to retract. I further stated, that if those promises had not been made, I should have sailed to Port Jackson in quest of the aid which I was denied in this port. To this remonstrance he replied, "Very well, Captain Dillon, go into the market, and try to negociate your bills with the merchants, and

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if you cannot succeed, I will assist you without delay."

He then adverted to the objects of the voyage, and seemed to discredit all I had acquainted him with the day before, observing, that it was very extraordinary I did not ascertain all the requisite information relative to la Pérouse's shipwreck, while on board the *St. Patrick*.

I could not account for the very great change in his conduct during the short space of twenty-four hours, until I discovered that Doctor Tytler had seen him in the interval, and represented every thing connected with the expedition in such a way as to mislead a man like him. I had two interviews with him this day, at the latter of which he informed me that he had seen Doctor Tytler, who complained greatly of me; but that he did not wish to interfere in the matter, and therefore referred the Doctor to the police magistrates.

Finding that Doctor Tytler did not return to the ship last night or this morning, according to my orders, and that there were several sick on board, I directed Dr. Scott, the colonial surgeon, to attend daily till they recovered.

Understanding that Doctor Tytler had been at the police office, I went there accompanied by two gentlemen to ascertain his business, when the magistrate, who was an old friend and

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intimate acquaintance of mine, told me that the Doctor had preferred charges of assault against me, and sought the protection of the law; he was therefore bound to call on me to find sureties to keep the peace until Monday the 9th instant, at which time the business would undergo a full investigation.

It was my intention, before I touched at Van Diemen's Land, to prosecute Doctor Tytler for the letter he had written to the chief officer on the 28th of January last, which in my opinion (as well as in that of others who had read or heard its contents, and been informed of the circumstances connected with it), was penned with the intention of inducing the officers and crew to mutiny and arrest me, under pretence of insanity; I was determined, however, to pass over for the present all the attacks and insults offered to me by the Doctor, rather than cause a moment's delay to the expedition, and to prefer my charges against him in Calcutta at the termination of the voyage. Of this forbearance Doctor Tytler took advantage, and made the first complaint, regardless of the consequences to his employers. Intent alone on his own malignant views, he raised an inquiry which he was aware might probably occupy some months in litigation, by which the Hon. East India Company's ship *Research* would be detained in

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the port of Van Diemen's Land, at the heavy and unnecessary expense to the Company of ten thousand rupees per month, independent of the risk thus incurred of not reaching the Mannicolos in the proper season.

9th. This morning subpœnas were served on board the ship at the instance of Doctor Tytler, on some of the officers and crew, who attended with me at the police office at ten o'clock accordingly. The first witness examined was Captain Speck, who deposed the truth. The next was the chief officer of the *Research*. With respect to this person's evidence, as, by having so long concealed the machinations going on against me, he had become almost as deeply committed as the Doctor himself, it was to be expected that he would speak more with the leaning of an accomplice, than with the truth and impartiality of an honest disinterested witness. His story was, of course, supported by the Doctor's dependent, Helmick, who though nearly *black* in complexion, said he became quite *pale* with fear at my loading a blunderbuss; and he was followed by Munro, my clerk, who had come in along with him from the ale-house, both more than half seas over, where they seemed to have been primed for the occasion. On this drunken and partial testimony of accomplices, I was called on to enter

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into sureties to appear before the next sittings of the Supreme Court, to answer a charge of assault, by having laid my hand on the Doctor's shoulder, when I arrested him on the quarter-deck.

Captain Speck not being able to procure lodgings on shore, resided on board the ship with me; but the Doctor having deserted from the *Research*, took up his lodgings at a tavern in Hobart Town. It happened that Captain Speck gave a dinner to a few of his acquaintances at the same house, and in consequence of Dr. Tytler living there, invited him out of courtesy to be of the party. I, of course, declined being present.

10th.—I was informed this morning by a gentleman on shore, that on passing the tavern the preceding evening, he beheld Doctor Tytler without coat, jacket, or hat, and with his shirt sleeves tucked up making a great noise, as if he had just left a boxing-match. I inquired into the cause of this, and learnt that the Doctor had become much intoxicated after dinner, when he began to vociferate, "that he was now where the British flag flourished *unrestricted*: that he had always been oppressed under the Company's government, and could not obtain impartial justice among them; that now he was under the British flag, he would serve the Com-

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pany no more, and was disgraced by wearing their uniform: on saying which he pulled off his uniform coat and flung it upon the floor, which was the reason of his sitting without coat or jacket during the remainder of the night. I also understood that he insulted the whole company; but next morning, being made sensible of his error, sent an apology to each of them by Captain Speck.

In the course of the day I went round to the principal merchants, and offered to dispose of bills on the Bengal Government for cash, to meet the ship's disbursements, which were now likely to become considerable, as she would be detained for several weeks at the instance of Doctor Tytler. The merchants told me that the trade between Calcutta and Van Diemen's Land had become so limited that they had no remittances to make.

11*th*.—Landed this morning, and waited on the Lieutenant-governor. I informed him that I could not succeed in getting my bills negociated. He replied, with reluctance, that he would order the commissary to advance me 4,000 Spanish dollars, at the rate of 4*s*. 4*d*. each (amounting to £866. 13*s*. 4*d*.); but that he expected I would give him a set of bills upon the Secretary of the Hon. East-India Company in Leadenhall Street, for the amount.

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I told him that I had no authority to draw on England, and shewed him my letters of instruction, authorizing me to draw on the Bengal Government. He read my letters, and replied that he would not advance the cash on the faith of the authorities in India; and that it was only with a view of obliging the Home government that he was willing to advance the money under any circumstances.

I soon guessed the source whence he derived the information under which he acted, and accordingly begged of him to pay no attention to the misrepresentations of a man, who had been a most troublesome person to society at large for the last fourteen years. Finding him however remain inflexible, I had no alternative but to draw on the Chief Secretary to the Hon. East-India Company in London, and did so accordingly.

I then proceeded into town, where I met a gentleman, who informed me that Dr. Tytler boasted that when the trial had come to issue he would get me put into confinement, and that the chief officer should take the command of the ship and proceed on the expedition. This the Doctor also mentioned to M. Chaigneau, who strongly reprobated such a plan of proceeding, urging that he was greatly interested in the success of the voyage of discovery.

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I immediately called on two gentlemen who were in the commission of the peace, and had been intimate acquaintances of mine for several years, and mentioned to them what I had just heard. They informed me that, through the assistance of a certain Methodist preacher, the Doctor, who was much addicted to evangelical and theological discussion, had ingratiated himself into the favour of the Governor, and that he was regarded at head-quarters as quite a saint. They also told me that the Judge of the Supreme Court was suspected of regulating his decisions agreeably to the Governor's fancy.

12*th.*—I found, on going on board, that the chief officer allowed the crew to insult the petty officers with impunity in consequence of their being my old servants and followers. My clerk, also, was drunk daily, who could not have obtained the means of becoming so had the chief offi cer done his duty.

The chief officer had never served on board of an armed ship till he was appointed to the *Research*, and was as ignorant of the management of guns, small arms, quarters, &c. as he was of practical seamanship. The most common merchant-man in the port was kept in neater order than mine, which was facetiously dignified with the appellation of the "Lascar man-o'-war." I had reason to suspect that

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officer had in view the prospects held out by Doctor Tytler, of his becoming commander of the ship in the event of my confinement, and that, actuated by those hopes, he neglected to enforce that subordination among the crew which was necessary, hoping by that means to remove any obstacle which their refusal to sail under his command might throw in his way: for the men, naturally averse to control, would joyfully prefer him for their captain who was least strict.

21st.—From the 7th inst. to this date I was amused by the promises of the Lieut. governor respecting the money I had applied for, and which he had promised to advance *without delay*. This morning, however, I acquainted him with my intention of sailing for Port Jackson the day following, should I not procure the cash before then. He declared that the delay was not occasioned by him, and that he would instantly send for the Commissary, and inquire into the cause of his tardiness in complying with my request.

At noon I met the Commissary, who directed me to draw out my bills, saying that he would thereupon pay me over the 4,000 dollars. I immediately therefore caused the bills to be prepared, with letters of advice, and returned to the commissariat department, the head of

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which being absent, I was requested by the person in charge to leave my bills, which he would shew to the Commissary upon his return; adding, that if I would call in about an hour he would have the money ready for delivery. I accordingly called at the appointed time; but, lo! the office was shut, business had ceased for that day, nor was it to be resumed till the following Tuesday. The first thought that suggested itself was that I had been played a trick. "Yes," thought I, "in securing my bills for £866. 13*s.* 4*d.* they have possessed themselves of a tolerably sufficient guarantee that I shall not sail to-morrow morning. If this is not a *ruse de guerre*, it is at least a good stroke of commissary *generalship.*"

I instantly repaired to the Government-house, intending to complain of this breach of faith on the part of the Commissary-general; but what was my surprise when I found that the Governor had left town, and was not expected to return till Monday. I was subsequently informed that the Commissary had also treated himself to a rural excursion, on which he had set out at the very time I was, according to his own appointment, to have received the money that was to accelerate the despatch of the *Research.*

It would be difficult to convey a just idea of

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the disgust I felt at this shuffling conduct, which compelled me to remain in the port, or to hazard the loss of the set of bills, by a trick played me with the view, no doubt, of detaining me for the issue of Dr. Tytler's complaints.

24th.—This morning at ten o'clock the trial came on, at the instance of Dr. Tytler, against me, before a court-*martial* (I may well call it), consisting of the Chief Justice (who upon this occasion I am to suppose acted as judge-advocate), and six military officers of the 40th regiment. The prosecution was conducted by the acting attorney-general, who was Doctor Tytler's advocate. He opened the proceedings with a long and eloquent speech, in the course of which he availed himself of every opportunity to disparage me in the eyes of the court, and to traduce me in the most abusive style. Among other appeals to the members of the court with a view to prejudice them against me, he forcibly reminded them that the plaintiff was one of their own profession (a military man!), and how much they were bound in honour to mark their just sense of the insult offered to that profession in the person of Dr. Tytler.

As a full account of the trial would occupy too much of the reader's time and patience in this place, and is fitter for an appendix, the fol-

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lowing brief sketch of it must suffice. The case rested in a great measure on the evidence of the prosecutor himself, and, as might be expected, he was supported, as far as he could be, by those in the vessel, who knew that having been privy to his machinations, by his defeat and eventual conviction they themselves would be compromised.

The Doctor talked as if he had been one of the greatest men in India; represented himself as being the person who got up the expedition by his influence and talents, and as the only man on whom the Government relied. In short, like the philosopher in Rasselas, who thought that the winds, and seasons, and the motion of the spheres, depended on his nod, the Doctor gave himself out as a man of mighty importance, whose labours for the good of mankind and the enlightenment of posterity were obstructed by a tyrannical captain, who, he said, had, without any cause, subjected him to the most cruel and ignominious treatment.

Thus he ended as he began. He introduced himself to me as the victim of persecution; he still pictured himself as a martyr. I was now converted into his persecutor; and his former oppressors, as he then called them, in India, were turned into friends and benefactors,

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who would fit out distant expeditions at his word, to afford him an opportunity of closing his career gloriously.

To illustrate this I need only quote the following portion of his evidence.

In the course of a cross-examination the following was elicited :—

Q. I ask you, Dr. Tytler, whether or not the Government had, in point of fact, the whole matter of this discovery in contemplation before this (the Asiatic Society's) meeting?

A. It is morally impossible for me to know the secrets of Government. I understood it was with the greatest difficulty on the part of Government that they fitted out the expedition, on account of my explanation of the cypher on the sword-guard, of the letters M.F.F.; these were represented to Lord Combermere, who agreed to it.

Q. Then it was through you that this expedition was fitted out—on your representation?

A. I was expressly told so. The secretary of the Medical Board told me so, and he knows more of the secrets of Government than me.

He further stated as follows :—

The disagreements I mentioned before between the Government and myself were entirely settled at this time, and I was on the point of joining my regiment. I had been appointed a month before. I think it was in consideration of the misunderstanding, that this expedition was to give me an opportunity of shining, and closing all our differences. (A loud laugh in the court.) These words were made use of to me by Mr. Swinton.

Were it not that I do not wish to occupy too

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much of my journal, I could point out at least fifty more falsehoods in Dr. Tytler's evidence. What I have, however, quoted verbatim from the proceedings, taken in short-hand by an expert stenographist, and notarially attested as correct, will establish Dr. Tytler's claim to a dispassionate and impartial regard to truth ; or, to speak without irony, it will fully prove how little was the regard he paid to it when likely to militate against the principal object of his prosecution : namely, to have me imprisoned and himself constituted leader of the expedition, the chief officer being the sailing commander!

In the above-quoted passage he pretends that the Government of British India was so sorry for having had a difference (or rather a thousand differences) with the great Doctor Tytler, that to make it up with him they fitted out an expedition to the South Seas, at an expense of 150,000 rupees, to give him an opportunity of exploring the tract of the Queen of Sheba, the golden coasts of Ophir, and the course of the aerolite, which he says (in 1823) travelled through the air from the island of Java to Allahabad, where the Doctor then resided, to give him warning of his approaching voyage to the part of the world whence it came—and thus end his life with the practical confirmation of

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these and other such visionary dreams, in which he had wasted so many years, thereby insulting the understanding of the public.

On the statements of this man, whom every sensible person in India had for many years regarded as a crack-brained enthusiast (which seems to be now lamentably confirmed by his complete derangement of intellect), the sage military court of Van Diemen's Land came to the sapient conclusion that I was blameable for laying my hand on his shoulder and placing him for two hours under close arrest, or for threatening him with irons and corporal punishment, if he did not desist from his attempts to excite mutiny and bloodshed in the ship.

I cannot enter here into the gross contradictions and prevarications which occurred between him and the chief officer about his (the Doctor's) letter to my officers, instigating them to confine me as a lunatic. It appears that when he found it failed to produce the desired effect (either from the cowardice of the conspirators or the sense of duty prevailing among the rest) he was glad to get his letter back again, and to destroy this important document, which, if it could have been produced, would have exposed him and his accomplices to be tried, and perhaps executed as mutineers.

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I have been thus prolix in my comments upon this, to me memorable trial (since it cost me £521), not so much from a regard to private feeling, as with a view to demonstrate the necessity, in future, of closely inquiring into the characters of persons applying for employment in the public service.

28th.—This day the prosecution and my defence having closed, the Judge summed up the case to the members of the court to the following effect:—

He premised that they were not to try the merits of this case by their notions of mutiny or martial law; that, in point of fact, the ship in question was precisely similar to a merchant vessel trading from London to these colonies, and that the defendant had no more authority than the master of such a ship would have over his officers and crew. He observed, that the only points for the consideration of the court were, first, had an assault been committed? and then, had a justification been made out to their satisfaction? A justification might be made out in two ways: either by the Doctor writing a letter to the officers, representing the captain to be mad when he knew at the same time that he was not mad, and by that means dispossessing the captain of the command; or by his representing what he believed

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to be true, but what was not so in fact; and that the defendant, at the time he put Doctor Tytler under arrest, believed the Doctor had made an untrue statement for the purpose of taking the command from him. The Judge expressed his opinion that, in either of these cases, the justification had been made out, and the defendant would be entitled to a verdict; but upon the latter point the members of the court ought to be satisfied that the Captain called his officers together, and consulted them upon the subject, and took all proper means of informing himself upon the nature and contents of the communication made to the officers.

In either case, the court was desirous that the gentlemen should specially find the facts upon which their verdict should be founded.

The members of the court retired for about an hour and a half, and returned the following verdict:—"Guilty upon the fourth count.*
"The Court-Martial are of opinion that Doctor
"Tytler should have exercised more discretion
"in introducing observations which he knew
"were irritating to the feelings of Captain
"Dillon."

Captain Dillon was then ordered to attend on Tuesday to receive judgment.

* The fourth count was for arresting Dr. Tytler, and putting my hand on his shoulder in so doing, which was construed into an assault.

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If this was not qualifying a verdict, it would be difficult to say how it could be qualified.

The counsel for the defendant said that his client was in attendance to receive the judgment of the court. To which the Judge objected in these words:—"I could not think of passing judgment in this case without looking over the evidence again. If the defendant is prepared with bail, I will take it at once. I will give judgment on Tuesday next."

The Judge then addressed himself to me in the following words:—"The custom here is, when a defendant is found guilty, to commit him to prison until judgment is passed. I, however, do not wish to put you to that inconvenience, if you are prepared with bail for your attendance here on Tuesday next at ten o'clock."

I inquired, "What bail is necessary?" The Judge's answer was, "Two sureties in £40 each, and yourself in £80;" which sureties were immediately entered into.

The Lieutenant-governor was at this time absent in the country, and not expected to return till Monday evening. Had the Judge substituted the following words: "I should like to consult the Governor before I pass judgment upon you," for those which formed his excuse for the postponement of judgment till the fol-

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lowing Tuesday, he would have deserved more credit for sincerity.

The following account of two cases tried at Hobart Town, Van Diemen's Land, the one at the suit of the Attorney-General against Doctor Crowder, and the other, Doctor Crowder against Captain Carns, both for assaults of a most glaring nature, will afford a correct idea of the general and equable manner in which justice is administered there.

The ship *Cumberland*, from England, commanded and owned by Captain Carns, arrived off Hobart Town in the early part of 1825. On the passage out a dispute arose between Doctor Crowder and Counsellor Stevens, the result of which was that Physic horsewhipped Law most severely; who did himself justice by instituting an action against the assailant, and recovered fifty pounds for the damage done to his person. A few days after that on which the assault was committed on board the *Cumberland*, the captain, who was a Leviathan skipper, observed the poor Doctor on the poop, and without any previous warning, seized him by the back of the neck in his huge fist, and dashed him upon the quarter-deck, breaking two of his ribs by the fall. For this wanton assault, Dr. Crowder, finding himself worsted in a legal prosecution by Mr. A. Stevens, sought

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reparation by the same means, and obtained a verdict: but what were the damages? Why, we must not apply the rule of proportion to solve this query, or we should never even approximate it: the damages were *forty shillings!* Yes, forty shillings for two broken ribs, wantonly, and I may almost say, savagely broken. Twenty shillings a joint were awarded by the judge; which would lead us to suppose he considers broken or fractured limbs less in the scale of personal grievance than a horse-whipping, however well merited, since for the latter he adjudges a compensation twenty-five times greater.

29th.—At noon this day I was told that the the ship *Hope*, of London, on a voyage from Port Jackson to this place, got on shore last night at the harbour-mouth, and was in great distress. I immediately repaired on board the *Research* and despatched the second officer with a boat's crew to assist in trying to get her off. I found my ship, as usual, filthy in the extreme, and pointed this out to the chief officer: who replied that of late I had found great fault with him, and he requested I would engage another person in his stead. I was not sorry to hear him say so, but supposed he was not in earnest. I immediately afterwards went on shore.

30th.—Shortly after breakfast I met Dr. Scott,

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the colonial surgeon, who had been on board the *Research* to visit the sick. He informed me that my chief officer talked of leaving the ship at Hobart Town, and was about coming on shore to request permission to that effect. Shortly afterwards the chief officer called on me for this purpose, stating that he felt uncomfortable on board the *Research*, and therefore hoped he might be permitted to leave her. To this I did not object, but requested he would return till the second officer should come back from the wreck, or until I had engaged with another to take his situation.

This afternoon the Lieutenant-governor returned to town, and the Judge, whose motions I watched very narrowly, immediately repaired to his residence, where my fate was, as I suppose, sealed.

1*st May*.—I paid my morning visit to the ship as usual, and observing something very offensive on the cables, I hinted at this repeated inattention to the chief officer; who replied, "Capt. Dillon, I wish to quit the ship: get another officer." I immediately went on board of the free-trader *Albion*, mentioned to Capt. Ralph, her commander, how unpleasantly I was situated for the want of a proper officer, and begged of him to spare me one of his. He replied, that his chief officer was detained at Sydney as a

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witness on a law-suit; that he had returned in the ship *Hope* to rejoin the *Albion*, but had not come up yet, in consequence of the wreck of that vessel at the mouth of the harbour; however, that when he arrived, he would spare him to me.

Shortly afterward I saw the gentleman alluded to on the public wharf, and mentioned to him the conversation that had passed between Capt. Ralph and myself, offering to engage him on the same terms and allowances which my present officer enjoyed. To this he agreed; and as I was going to the court, I promised to deliver up charge to him, as chief officer of the *Research*, on my return in the afternoon. At ten o'clock the court-house was opened. The Judge-Advocate of the court-martial took his seat, and inquired in a petulant tone if *Peter Dillon* was there? I stood up. The learned judge then shortly adverted to the facts of the case, and stated, "that he considered it necessary to mark my conduct, and by that means prevent such behaviour in future by commanders of ships, either to officers or passengers; and although it was true that no violence had been used, and that the prosecutor had been in close confinement only two hours, yet the facts of the case, in his opinion, manifested bad feeling, and were attended with circumstances of ag-

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gravation. The sentence of the court was, that I should be imprisoned two months in the gaol of Hobart Town, pay a fine of £50, and enter into sureties, in the sum of £400, to keep the peace for twelve calendar months."

Here then is another admirable sample of the impartial disposition of the Van Diemen's Land executive. The Tasmanian judge seems to proportion the rigour of his sentences in an inverse ratio to the amount of injury done: so the Indian Government, being the most innocent, must be punished most severely.* He scorns the vulgar practice of ordinary lawyers and judges, in forming their decisions according to the atrocity of the actual breach of the law: he flies into the regions of feeling, consults the *animus* which dictated the action, and awards accordingly. So he says himself: at least, his review of the circumstances of the case implies as much. But, alas! he is not always consistent, as witness the case of Doctor Crowder *versus* Capt. Carns, in which he awarded only the nominal damages of forty shillings (barely sufficient to carry costs), for two broken ribs caused by the unwarranted assault of the defendant. Did he, in this matter, consult feel-

* By my confinement, the expedition, with all the expenses attending it going on, must be detained two months: that is, I am fined £50, and the public treasury of Bengal at least £2,000!

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ing? and if he did, whose feeling did he consult? the feeling that actuated the defendant to assault an inoffensive man, or his own feelings upon the subject? I will not pursue this parallel further.

The result of all this is only another instance of the fallibility of judges and rulers, and must convey a just idea of the mode in which justice is administered in these remote regions. The military men who formed the jury, and the lawyers who were their advisers, could hardly be expected perhaps to form a just opinion of the kind of discipline which is necessary at sea, where the captain stands alone like an absolute monarch, with nothing to support his power but strict subordination and obedience.

In short, the good people of Van Diemen's Land seem to have been imposed on by the wild rhapsodies entitled "Tytler's Illustrations of Ancient Geography and History," which were apparently regarded there as the *ne plus ultra* of human ingenuity. They seem to have believed, on his authority, that he was at least one of the sons of the prophets, and I his persecutor; that, as he pretends, Sumatra was the Ophir of the Scriptures, and Java the isle of Sheba: and had he continued the voyage with me, he would no doubt have treated the world with a learned treatise, proving that the island of Mannicolo

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was the Laputa of Gulliver, which, yielding to the universal force of gravitation, had at last ceased to float over its dependent isles, and sousing like a water-fowl into the Pacific Ocean, had taken root, swallowing in the vortex thus created the ships under the command of la Pérouse. Surely no punishment could be too severe for the person who cut short the prophetic career of so great a man in the eyes of his wise disciples!

The sub-sheriff invited me to accompany him to my newly assigned lodgings, and on my way thither I was met by the high-sheriff. This gentleman, who is the son of a wealthy English banker, felt much for my situation, behaved with the greatest kindness towards me, and introduced me to the governor of the prison, who relinquished one-half of his apartments to me in the kindest manner, and treated me with every mark of respect, in which he was joined by his amiable lady. He is the son of an English gentleman, and emigrated to Van Diemen's Land about three years ago, with the intention of becoming what is here locally termed a settler. With this view he took possession of his estate in the interior; but was soon afterwards plundered of all his property by the gangs of runaway convicts who infest the woods, and

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are commonly distinguished by the name of "Bush-rangers."

Thus reduced, and his lady being afraid to remain any longer among such scenes, he retired from his estate to Hobart Town, where he received the appointment he now holds.

Notwithstanding the bombastic shew of justice exhibited by the learned and very pliable chief justice, I was fully aware of the intended catastrophe of this judicial farce, having been well advised of its drift for some days before, and therefore felt perfectly at ease in my novel situation, knowing that it was not their intention to carry into effect more than one-eighth of that part of the sentence which related to my detention in prison. But, being aware of its main object, I took special care to defeat their projects.

Before my imprisonment it was hinted to me, through the means of a gentleman in office, that this would form a part of my sentence, and that matters were to be so arranged as to make it appear that my enlargement should be principally owing to Dr. Tytler's interposition on my behalf, which it was presumed would pave the way to a complete and permanent reconciliation between us. That if this were not the case, I should necessarily be detained till the

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full expiration of the term, and that in the mean time the chief officer would take the command, and proceed on the voyage.

Unfortunately my imprisonment had prevented me from putting the new officer in charge, though I had engaged him.

2d.—I was visited by the most respectable persons in the town; particularly by Mr. Edward Lord, brother to Sir John Owen Lord, member of parliament for Pembrokeshire. Mr. Lord succeeded to the government of this colony on the decease of Governor Collins, and administered affairs for a considerable time much to the satisfaction of the colonists.

The Judge and the Lieutenant-governor were highly incensed at the numerous testimonies of respect shewn me upon this occasion by so large a portion of the aristocracy, whom they wished to treat me as unworthy of their notice. Mr. Lord, with Messrs. Bethune and Kemp, two of the principal merchants in the town, procured a petition to the Governor to be drawn up, praying for a remission of my sentence as far as regarded my imprisonment, for the sake of the expedition in which I was engaged, and it was signed by the most respectable and wealthy persons in the colony, who took a deep interest in my fate in consequence of the cabals by which I was oppressed.

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Mr. Lord, who was an old acquaintance, shewed himself also my firm friend in this affair, notwithstanding the danger to which he thus exposed himself of forfeiting the patronage of the local administration, and all the indulgences and immunities usually bestowed on those who sympathize in the Governor's feelings on points in which he takes any interest.

3d. — This morning I transmitted to the Lieutenant-governor the petition which had been drawn up yesterday by the gentlemen of Hobart Town, and accompanied it with a letter from myself, stating that the objects of the expedition must fail if I was detained in prison two months, as the monsoons would change before I could then reach the Mannicolos, and thus frustrate all my plans. I further stated, that I was willing to pay the fine of £50, and to enter into sureties to return to Van Diemen's Land at the termination of the voyage, and undergo the remainder of my imprisonment, offering to bind myself in any amount he might think necessary.

4th.—In order to frustrate the Doctor's designs, I removed my servant, Martin Bushart, from the ship to a friend's house, and sent Mr. Ross, the other interpreter, to Port Jackson; so that if the ship's command were wrested from me, there remained no interpreters on

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board, nor a person who knew the latitude or longitude of Mannicolo. Martin Bushart declared that he would never abandon me, and that should he be forced on board under any other commander, they might beware of the consequences the moment he landed at Mannicolo or Tucopia.

This evening I was visited by the Counsel for Doctor Tytler, who addressed me in the following words: "Captain Dillon, you have sent a letter to the Governor respecting your release, but I can assure you that you will not be released unless you make matters up with Doctor Tytler, and give your officers as bondsmen in the sum of £400, that you will keep the peace towards the Doctor during the remainder of the voyage."

I replied, "Sir, do you suppose I am going to sea with my hands manacled? Did you ever hear of the captain of a ship going to sea under such restrictions? The law, if I can call it such in Van Diemen's Land, has already made a sufficient provision for Doctor Tytler's protection: what more is necessary? Doctor Tytler can rejoin the ship and continue his duty. I will not molest him, unless his conduct merits it."

The Counsellor now wished to bring the matter to a crisis: I informed him that he must consult my legal advisers, and sent for

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them immediately. He told me that if I did not shake hands with the Doctor, the Governor would send the ship to sea under the chief officer's command. I replied that this would be piracy; and that to provide against it, I had some days past sent all the papers belonging to the ship to Sydney; therefore if she went to sea, it must be without papers or interpreters. This latter difficulty, he observed, would be surmounted by the police compelling Bushart to go on board. "Perhaps so," said I; "you may deprive me of my servant, as you have of my liberty. If Bushart is forced on board by the police here, let those who detain him there beware of the consequences when the *police at Mannicolo* become acquainted with the circumstance. Their decisions at Tucopia and Mannicolo in matters similar to these are very summary, and severe retaliation is the principle on which their ideas of justice are based: be cautious, therefore, how you act in this respect." He then began to soothe me, and requested me not to be angry, for that he was but jesting. To this I answered, "How can I be otherwise than angry, when I reflect on the injustice done me? Though you, sir, were unmercifully horsewhipped by Doctor Crowder, you recovered only £50 damages. I have neither used horsewhip, stick, or fist, yet here I am imprisoned."

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At this moment my legal advisers came into the prison yard, and the counsellor, not much admiring the recent turn I had given to the conversation, withdrew with them.

5th.—At an early hour this morning I understood from a friend that the counsellor had called last night at the house of Captain Speck, in company with Doctor Tytler, where they met Monsieur Chaigneau and the chief officer, from whom the Doctor obtained a certificate, to the effect that, from what had passed on board between Doctor Tytler and me, it would not be proper that we should sail again together. He also informed me that the chief officer was directed to attend at the Government-house today in order to be installed into the command of the ship.

This person called upon me about half-past nine o'clock, and informed me that he had been directed last night to wait on the Governor this morning, who wished to see him on some point relative to the command of the *Research*. He added, that he was then going to the Government-house, and would call upon me on his return. About noon he again made his appearance, at which time I was engaged with my legal adviser; in whose presence he told me he had not seen the Governor, but was spoken to on the subject by his secretary, who asked him if he

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would undertake the command of the *Research* and complete the voyage. The officer, who well knew that he would not be countenanced in such a measure by Monsieur Chaigneau, the French agent, the other officers, the South-Sea islanders, and others on board, declined accepting of the command, and was requested to signify his answer in writing. I advised him not to give a written answer until a written proposal should be made to confer on him the command.

7*th*.—I was visited this morning by the Rev. Philip Connolly, Roman Catholic chaplain, and his friend the high-sheriff, who told me that they had drawn up a petition to the Lieutenant-governor, which would be signed in the course of the day by all the civil and military officers, praying him, for the sake of humanity, and the success of the expedition on which I was engaged, to release me.

In the evening I received the petition, signed by a number of highly respectable individuals, among whom were the names of four members of the court-martial. Dr. Tytler's own counsel also subscribed it; but a similarity of disposition inclining him to sympathize with the Doctor, he added some remarks with which I felt so disgusted, that I declined allowing his name to appear as a petitioner in my behalf.

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Leonard Helmick, whom the Doctor had endeavoured to get on shore before the trial had come on, was absent from the ship since the 24th ultimo, nor could I obtain, by my frequent applications to the magistrates, any effectual assistance to get him apprehended and reconducted on board.

8th.—At a late hour this evening I was called on by a friend, from whom I understood that the secretary to the Lieutenant-governor was much displeased on hearing that the military officers had signed the petition for my liberation, and that he lost no time in repairing to the military barracks, where he severely lectured the officers alluded to for their contumacy. He told them that they were soldiers, and ought not to interfere in such matters, and that he felt confident the Governor would be highly displeased upon learning the fact, and would not fail to mark his sense of their conduct.

This speech made such an impression on the mind of the foreman of the court-martial that he arose in haste, and without delay proceeded to the house of the honest sheriff, whom he disturbed from his dinner, and begged of him for God's sake to shew him the petition for a few moments in order that he might erase his name from it, being apprehensive that its appearance there would mar a suit he was then making for a fur-

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lough to proceed to Europe to enable him to settle some private affairs.

9th.—While at tea this evening with my worthy host and hostess, M. Chaigneau and the chief officer called on me. Shortly after (about 5 P.M.) I received a letter from the Lieutenant-governor,* stating that the sheriff had been written to, directing him to discharge me from custody on my payment of the fine and entering into the prescribed sureties to keep the peace.

On receipt of this letter I sent to my solicitor, who hastened with it to the judge, and urging that, as the preliminaries to my enlargement might be arranged in half-an-hour, I should be released that evening. This irregular method of doing business, however, was not to be countenanced by so upright and strict a member of the bench, who informed my attorney that there were regular office hours for transacting business; that at the proper time to-morrow I could be brought up by writ of *habeas corpus*, and having in open court complied with the conditions of my release, I should be discharged. This judicial manœuvre inclined me to think I had been once more duped.

* It was sent me by the hands of Mr. Savary, the banker from Bristol, who shortly before arrived in the colony, to which he had been transported, and where he is a very useful member of society.

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The explanation to this religious regard for legal formulæ may be gathered from the following particulars :—It was rumoured in town, that as soon as I should have regained my liberty, it was my intention to force Doctor Tytler on board the *Research*, and compel him to complete his engagement as surgeon for the voyage. To avoid this, Dr. Tytler had engaged a passage to Port Jackson in the *Albion*, Capt. Ralph, who was to sail the next morning, and had I been released that evening, he was fully impressed with the idea that I would compel him to return to the service from which he had absconded, and therefore induced his friend to detain me till the last moment, in order to afford him the means of escape.

10*th*.—At 10 o'clock this morning I was called on by Mr. Edward Lord and Mr. Bethune, who offered to become sureties in the bond which I was about to enter into, and shortly afterwards my solicitor repaired to the judge's house, with the information that I was prepared to comply with the legal forms which were deemed by him indispensable preliminaries to my enlargement.

The judge upon this looked out of the back window of his apartment, and observing a ship under weigh proceeding out of the harbour, inquired of the solicitor what ship was sailing

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out of the port? The latter replied, "the *Albion*:" then, resumed the other, "I suppose Dr. Tytler is gone?"—"Yes, your worship," was the reply. The judge then continued: "I will not put Capt. Dillon to the inconvenience of going through all the forms required by law; let the sureties be entered into in presence of a magistrate, and the fine be paid: that is all that will be necessary to obtain his liberation."

Of course all this was performed without delay, and I left the prison with Mr. Lord under one arm and Mr. Bethune under the other, and thus escorted, met the Lieutenant-governor in the street. If the countenance be the index of the mind, there was sufficient pourtrayed in his at that moment to warrant a surmise that these gentlemen would be remembered on a future day, for the testimony of esteem thus paid to one who, they knew, enjoyed so small a portion of his Excellency's good graces.

Not wishing the ship to be detained longer, I sent my agent to the colonial secretary to request the dollars for which my set of bills had been drawn, and delivered to the commissary, nearly a fortnight ago. The first question put by him in reply to my agent's demand was, "Is Dr. Tytler gone?" This being answered in the affirmative, he replied, "We will ad-

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vance Capt. Dillon the amount, but must first have a bottomry bond on the ship." As night was approaching, we were obliged to leave matters *in statu quo.*

I was furnished with powers to draw upon the authorities at Van Diemen's Land, but not to bottomry the Hon. East-India Company's ship under my command. Had such a condition been proposed to me on the 7th April, when first I applied for the money, I should have sailed to Port Jackson, where my agents would have advanced me the sum required. I could not do so now: the amount of debt contracted for the ship's supply during the period she had been detained by Dr. Tytler must be discharged before I could depart.

11*th.*—This morning I wrote to the Lieutenant-governor, requesting he would direct payment to be made for the bills which the Deputy-Commissary held from me; and that although I was not authorized to give a bottomry bond on the Hon. Company's ship *Research*, still my exigencies were such, that if he persisted in the demand I would do it.

12*th.*—At noon I received a letter from the Lieutenant-governor, stating that he would now order the money to be paid on a bottomry bond on the ship *Research* being given; and with this letter I waited upon the secretary, who said he

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could do nothing in the matter until he had seen the Attorney-general.

The Secretary's office was soon after shut, not to be re-opened till Monday; and thus were two days more lost, and the ship unnecessarily detained at an enormous expense. This was, no doubt, a manœuvre, to give the Doctor time to get clear off, and enable him to relate his story the first at head-quarters.

14*th*.—I called on the secretary this morning at office hours, who sent for the Attorney-general, and after a three hours' farce, the subject having been discussed in all its various shapes (the *Albion* sailing with all her speed in the mean time), it was finally determined that the cash should be advanced without the bond; and at one o'clock I received a bank cheque for the amount, which I handed over to the ship's agent.

The person whom I had engaged on the 1st instant, waited on me to-day, for the purpose being placed on board. I accordingly wrote to my chief officer, stating that, in reply to his application of the 30th ult. and 1st instant, requesting me to engage another officer in his place, I had complied with his solicitation, and engaged one who was prepared go on board to take charge, requesting him, at the same time, to deliver over to him the various stores, &c., and take his receipt for the same.

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15th.—I was much surprised this day by the receipt of a letter from him, informing me that it was not his wish to quit the ship; and saying, that at the time he gave me notice of his desire to leave, he expected the command of the *Hetty* schooner.

17th.—Received information this morning that the person who was my clerk had been in the habit of stealing the ship's rum, and selling it to the crew at the rate of two rupees per bottle. I sent on board for a man named Proctor, who I understood was one of those to whom he had surreptitiously disposed of the rum, and who informed me that he had bought spirits from Munroe, and that others on board had done so likewise. Hereupon I was resolved to prosecute him for felony.

This day I also received intelligence that the chief officer had induced the European part of the crew, through the agency of Henry Sutton, a seaman on board, to write to the Lieutenant-governor, stating that they wished to be discharged from the ship, since their officers were about to be displaced, and others substituted of whose character they knew nothing. The letter was written by Munroe, at the request of Sutton; but some of the crew refusing to sign it, a dangerous fellow named Graham, and

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another, threatened to cut their throats if they did not comply.

18*th*.—Several letters passed between my chief officer and me on the subject of his delivering up charge to the person whom I had engaged at his particular request, signified to me upon the 30th of the last and 1st of the present month; but finding him not inclined to move without putting me to some trouble, I convened a meeting of captains of ships, some of whom had been naval officers, whom I appointed to meet to-morrow, in order to take their opinion as to how I ought to act upon the present occasion. My chief officer was apprized of my intention by letter, and requested to attend the meeting at the store of Captain Bell, on the wharf, at 10 o'clock next morning.

19*th*.—This morning I started, in company with my attorney, for the purpose of going on board the ship to inspect some bills of exchange drawn in favour of my agents in Calcutta by a person here on my account, which bills had been kept back for more than two years. On reaching the boat, I was called away upon some business that I could not neglect, and my attorney proceeded without me. Having, however, remained on board for some time, and finding that I did not come off, he proceeded on shore

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again where I met him. He informed me that he had held some conversation with my chief officer on the subject of his quitting the ship, who said that if I addressed him another letter on the same subject, he would immediately deliver over charge to the person newly appointed. This, of course, I did without delay.

I had my clerk in attendance, for the purpose of bringing him before the police for feloniously purloining the ship's rum. From this act of justice my attorney dissuaded me for the present, urging that I should be bound over to prosecute him, and thus incur an additional delay. I therefore sent him on board, with directions to the draughtsman to inform the newly appointed chief officer on no account whatever to allow him to quit the ship.

I then repaired to the meeting of captains convened for to-day, whom I found assembled at the appointed place. The gentlemen who met together on this occasion were Lieutenant Hanby of the Royal Navy, commander of the *Hetty* schooner; Captain Walsh, superintendent of marine, Hobart Town, formerly a captain in the country service; Captain Bell, late commander of the Hon. Company's chartered ship *Minerva*, now principal of the mercantile house of "Bell and Co.;" and Captain Wilson, formerly commander in the English trade to South America,

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and now a merchant. On my arrival I found that my chief officer had not thought proper to attend, and I proceeded to take the sense of the meeting; when it was unanimously agreed, that he having acted very improperly, should not be suffered to continue any longer on duty as chief officer of the *Research*. Shortly after this I received a letter from him stating that it was his intention to proceed in the *Guide* brig towards Bengal.

At 2 P.M. I received a letter from on board, without signature, the purport of which was that the ship's company wished to see me on board. I informed the bearer that I never allowed seamen to command me either to go on board or to go on shore: that it was my place to order, and not to be ordered. Though I had business on board, I declined going, having heard that my late officer had been distributing rum amongst the seamen, who were all drunk.

About 4 P.M. Mr. Deane, my new officer, came on shore to acquaint me that my clerk had escaped from the ship unknown to him. On inquiry I found that he had gone in the boat with my late officer's baggage; and that the draughtsman had gone on board of the *Guide* to make inquiry concerning him, where he learnt that my clerk had been with the baggage, and was now on shore. To the last part of this in-

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formation I paid little credit, suspecting that my late officer took him to Sydney with the intention of conveying him to India, where a part might have been allotted him in the drama got up by the Doctor for their mutual exculpation. Thus I was deprived of my clerk's services, together with a sum of money he stood indebted to me. However, that no means might be left untried for his apprehension, I despatched a police officer in quest of him to the several punch and dancing-houses in town, who, as I had expected, returned unsuccessful.

This afternoon I paid all my bills and shipped my stores, with the intention of proceeding to sea at daylight in the morning.

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CHAPTER V.

OCCURRENCES FROM VAN DIEMEN'S LAND TO PORT JACKSON.

20th.—I WENT on board with the pilot about 8 A.M., and shortly afterwards ordered the anchor to be weighed. In a few minutes the chief officer entered the cuddy, telling me that the crew would not heave up the anchor, but that they wanted to speak to me. My reply was, that I had nothing to say to them: that if they wished to communicate any thing to me they should commit it to paper. In the course of about half an hour I received a note without signature, and merely subscribed in these words: "Your obedient servant, at the request of the ship's company."

The tenour of the note was, that as the officers who had been placed over them in India had been removed, and others substituted of whose characters they were ignorant, it was their wish to be discharged. Now the port regulations here forbid the discharge of seamen, but finding my men in an actual state of mutiny, I addressed them in the following words: "My men, I have no authority to discharge you in this port: but such of you as persist in a refusal to do your

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duty, are at liberty to leave the ship, bearing in mind that by so doing you forfeit all claim to whatever arrears of pay may be due to you, as well as every article belonging to you on board, which revert to the India Government." When I ceased speaking, seven of the most resolute of these fellows stepped into a shore-boat; but two of them immediately returned through the port-holes, the other five putting on shore.

We now hove up the anchor and sailed down the river, the Europeans being all nearly drunk, their faces dreadfully mangled, with black eyes, broken noses, and scratched jaws, occasioned by the spirits that my late officer had distributed among them previously to quitting the ship, with the intention perhaps of stimulating them to assault the officer who superseded him. Having post-office packets to deliver at Port Jackson, and being now in want of a naturalist and second officer, to supply the place of those who had deserted the expedition or been dismissed, I determined to proceed thither to procure them.

At 1 P.M. we cleared the Derwent, which I believe to be one of the most corrupt spots on the face of the globe. On beholding this scene of iniquity and oppression sinking in the distance, I could not refrain from exclaiming, "Van Diemen's Land I bid you adieu! Land of corrup-

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tion and injustice, farewell! Adieu to the place where the crackbrained antiquarian and noisy polemic of India, the redoubtable and learned naturalist, botanist, historiographer, geographer, and doctor of all arts and sciences (if we believe his own account of his literary acquirements), Robert Tytler, so easily succeeded in impressing a belief of his worth and excellencies on the minds of a governor, secretary, preacher, acting attorney-general and judge, who looked up to this visionary pedant as a second admirable Crichton."

I cannot but lament that I had not at first sailed to Port Jackson: there I should have met with no obstruction in refitting; there I should have enjoyed the right of trial by jury, and my case would have been adjudged by honest and upright men: whom no whining cant nor fear of offending a military governor, could bias. Had my case been tried there the decision would have been quite the reverse of what it was. Dr. Tytler's assumed pretensions would not have imposed on any one. He would have been compelled to concert his plans unaided by the ministers of government, unassisted by the administrators of that law which rigidly punishes the crimes of mutiny and desertion. The surgeon, naturalist, botanist, mineralogist, and recorder of proceedings to the supreme government, as

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he called himself, must have continued his functions with his mutinous spirit somewhat chastened, and rendered more amenable to his superior; I should have been saved the enormous amount of law expenses to which I have been subjected; the Hon. Company would have been saved some thousands of pounds; and in all human probability, the expedition would have been rendered more satisfactory.

21st.—The winds for the greatest part of these twenty-four hours were from S.W. to N.W. Crowded all sail for Port Jackson. Latitude at noon 43° 8′ S.; longitude 149° 32′ E.: thermometer in the open air 54°. We were accompanied by several aquatic birds, none of which were seen by us on the passage to Hobart Town. At noon put up for public sale the few tattered garments left behind by the mutineers who deserted yesterday, and placed the amount to the ship's credit as being forfeited.

26th.—Throughout these twenty-four hours we experienced fine weather and smooth water. At 11 A.M. the coast of New South Wales appeared in view to the westward of Cape Howe. Ran 109 miles on a W. by N. course.

27th.—Light and variable breezes. Tacked ship at 10 A.M. Coast of New South Wales in sight. Performed divine service as usual on Sunday.

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At noon Bass' Head in sight, bearing W. by N. per compass, distance off seventy-one miles. Latitude by observation 37°38′ S.: thermometer on deck 64°.

28th.—Our progress to the northward very slow, occasioned by the light variable winds, our whole run for the last twenty-four hours not exceeding forty-seven miles. At noon the latitude observed was 37° 9′ S., at which time Cape Dromedary, on the coast of New South Wales, was in sight, bearing N.N.W. ½ W. per compass, distant fifty-four miles; thermometer on deck 66°.

29th.—Light airs and cloudy, with mizzling rain at intervals. Mount Dromedary in sight the major part of this day. At noon it bore W. by compass twelve leagues. Thermometer on deck 66°.

30th.—The weather throughout the day was much the same as yesterday. At 10 A.M. the clouds cleared off the coast, at which time Cape George bore W. by N. ½ N. three leagues; the wind from the south-eastward. Stood to the northward along the coast with all sails set. Thermometer on deck 61°.

31st.—Light variable winds and calms the first part of the day, all sail set standing to the northward along the coast. At 8 A.M. Hat Hill, Port Aikin, Botany Bay, and the light-house

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on Port Jackson, south head, all in sight. A perfect calm from 8 to 11 A.M. There was a small schooner in sight under sail in Botany Bay.

At noon light variable airs from the southward. Botany Bay entrance bore by the compass W¾S. Latitude by observation 34° S.; thermometer on deck in the shade 67°.

31*st.*—At 3 P.M. made signal for a pilot and fired a gun, and at 5 P.M., after repeating the gun frequently, one came on board, who took charge of the ship, and stood in for the harbour. At 6½ P.M. anchored in five and and a half fathoms water: the North-Head bearing N.E. by E., and the Light-house S.E. ¾ S. This situation placed us in mid-channel between the south-head reef and middle harbour. Divided the crew into three watches, with an officer at the head of each.

Shortly after anchoring sent a boat to town with the Calcutta post-office packet and several letters for the Bengal Government, requesting the colonial secretary to forward them with the least possible delay. Found that my late surgeon, whom I meant to apprehend as a deserter, had sailed for India, having only remained at this port one day, when he fortunately found a vessel wherein to effect his escape before my arrival.

June 1*st.*—Throughout the day light sea and

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land breezes, with fine weather: mechanics and people employed as necessary. At noon received a visit from the master-attendant. At 6 P.M. put ashore for the purpose of procuring a naturalist; but in this I failed, as well as my agent, and the clerk whom I sent up with the despatches.

2d.—Land and sea breezes during these twenty-four hours. People employed cleansing the ship in various parts. Procured some sheep, poultry, vegetables, &c. in the course of this day.

3d.—Winds and weather as for days past. People employed as necessary. At 11 A.M. proceeded on board, not being able to procure a naturalist, although I offered most liberal terms. I engaged here a new second officer, a steward, and three English seamen.

In the course of the afternoon the ship *Elizabeth* sailed for the Isle of France, in company with the *Albion* for Batavia. I understood that they were to adopt the eastern route, through St. George's Channel.

Several boats having visited the vessel during our stay here, in some of which spirituous liquors had been conveyed on board, a part of the crew became intoxicated and riotous. Fearing from this circumstance that some convicts were secreted on board, I called all hands aft, and explained to them the consequences

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should any be discovered after the ship had put to sea.

The gunner having requested permission to remain at Port Jackson with his wife and family, I granted him leave, appointing his mate to the vacant post, conditionally, on his being careful, and shewing himself competent in all respects to perform the duty that thus devolved upon him.

In this colony, where so many strange occurrences take place, I was however surprised to find that Mr. Scott, formerly, I am told a merchant in the Mediterranean, latterly secretary to the commissioner of inquiry sent from England, in which capacity I had seen him here in 1820, was now converted into a clergyman of the established church. This versatile genius, having laid aside the day-book and ledger for the Bible and prayer-book, by divine grace and ecclesiastical favour, now took precedence of his former master, and was even become the spiritual head of the reverend and venerable Samuel Marsden, who has here for many years laboured so zealously in the cause of Christianity as to be justly considered the apostle of the South Seas. As an individual, knowing the virtues of this truly pious and venerable man, I could not help feeling much for the cruel and unjust persecutions he has lately suffered.

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CHAPTER VI.

OCCURRENCES FROM PORT JACKSON TO NEW ZEALAND.

4th June 1827.—First part of the day light airs and calms: latter part, winds strong from the northward. At 9 A.M. weighed and stood to sea. At 11 A.M. the pilot left us. Latitude obs. at noon 34° 50′ S. when the point of South-head bore W. 4 miles. Thermometer in the shade 70°.

Not knowing whether fresh water could be procured at Tucopia, and dreading the disposition of the Mannicolese, where, if I should succeed in finding anchorage, and require water, it would be exposing my men to too great hazard to land them among hundreds of savages armed with poisoned arrows, I determined to take in water at the nearest known watering-place to Mannicolo, and thus, by having a sufficient supply of this indispensable article of consumption, I could set the natives at defiance, until an opportunity offered of establishing a friendly intercourse with them, as I understood them to be very hostile to Europeans since the wreck of the two French vessels upon their coast. I therefore determined to sail for the Friendly Islands, to which place I expected a

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short passage, it being the middle of winter in these southern latitudes, at which time the wind mostly prevails from the west. Having arrived there, I could water and resume the voyage without delay.

13*th.*—Nothing worthy of notice having occurred for the last nine days, I pass them over as uninteresting.

I have crossed this part of the Pacific Ocean at least twenty times, and have uniformly had short passages till now.

For the first two days after quitting Port Jackson, the winds prevailed from the westward; from that period the wind blew from S.E. to N.E. At 1 o'clock this morning it blew a violent gale, accompanied by heavy falls of rain. The main-topsail was split, and we were obliged to heave-to for the remainder of the day.

14*th.*—At 8 A.M. the gale abated: the wind shifted from N.E. to N.N.W., when we swayed up the top-gallant mast and yards, which were housed during the gale. Set all sail, and stood to the eastward. Latitude at noon 34° 22′ S.; Longitude 164° 40′ 30″ E.

17*th.*—We have had for the last three days the winds mostly from the eastward. Latitude at noon 34° 24′ S.; longitude 167° 23′ E.

Being on a voyage fraught with danger, not only from the seas, but from surprise while at

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anchor in the ports, on shores which are inhabited by barbarians relentless and treacherous, or by cannibals, who besides their naturally savage disposition, are further impelled to seek our destruction by their horrible propensity to devour us,—I deemed it more imperatively necessary that the officer on watch should at all times and in all places be on the alert.

To prevent the recurrence of a most disgraceful instance of criminal neglect which took place this morning, I caused the following remark to be placed on the log-board, for the information of the officers keeping watch :—

" Received information that one of the officers has been in the habit of sleeping on deck in his watch : found it to be the case. Looked over the offence this time, although such conduct is in direct violation of the articles of agreement, and contrary to the rules and regulations of the service. It endangers the life of every individual on board, as also the property of the Hon. East-India Company. I am determined, should such an occurrence take place again, to disrate the officer and send him off the quarter-deck. An officer who sleeps on his watch, exposes himself to the sarcasms of the common sailors, and can never command with authority, having placed himself in the power of his inferiors."

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Latitude by observation to-day, 34° 24′ S. Longitude by lunar observation, 167° 29′ 30″ E.

23d.—Having met with so much bad weather and foul winds on this passage, I gave up the idea of proceeding to the Friendly Islands, and thought of proceeding to Tanna, one of the New Hebrides, to complete my water and restow the ship, which duty had not been performed since leaving Calcutta; and there but very indifferently, through the unseamanlike conduct and want of skill in the former chief officer. On the 20th instant, the second officer had informed me that he found seventeen water-casks empty in the hold, besides those which had been emptied for the ship's use.

Before determining to bear away, I deemed it prudent to ascertain the exact complement of water on board, and to my utter astonishment found only twenty-seven casks, being little more than one cask to every three individuals in the ship.

From this circumstance it would appear that my late chief officer did not cause more than half of the casks to be filled at the Derwent, although he wrote to me stating that all the water-casks in the ship were filled by a person on shore, with the exception of three, which he stated would be immediately filled by the crew. I had therefore now no alternative but

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to proceed for New Zealand, and there complete my water, notwithstanding such a proceeding was likely to cause some delay.

At 5½ P.M. the boatswain caught a very large shark of the brown species, an occurrence highly gratifying to "his excellency" Morgan McMarragh, inasmuch as it promised a feast of no ordinary delicacy. He declared that the *mogow* (their name of the shark) was most delicious food, and proceeded to exemplify his taste by scoring off a piece for his supper. But, notwithstanding his argument was thus ably supported by example, the sailors did not seem to pay much attention to either, and were about to toss the remaining part of the monster overboard, when, vexed to the heart to see so much excellent fish thrown away, he commenced an earnest expostulation with them on the subject, advising them to preserve it for the ladies at the Bay of Islands (at which place they would soon arrive), who sing, he said, most melodiously, sweeter by far than the nautch girls of Calcutta: giving them reason to hope that they might, on their arrival in the bay, expect numerous visits from those Eastern Catalanis.

25th.—Fresh breezes, and cloudy throughout the day: winds from N.N.E. Shortly after daylight observed that the sea assumed a light

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colour, an indication that we were not far from the coast of New Zealand. Our latitude by observation at noon was 34° 53′ S., longitude 172° 2′ E. Thermometer in the shade 63°. At half past one P.M. land in sight bearing N.N.E. per compass, distance ten leagues, which proved to be the Three Kings, off the north coast of New Zealand.

The wind blowing directly from the shore, we could not approach it. Carried as much sail during the night as the ship could conveniently bear, beating to windward.

26th.—First and middle part of the day strong breezes from the north. At 1 P.M. hard squall with rain: at 2 P.M. it fell nearly calm with variable airs. At 5 P.M. a light breeze sprung up from the south-west, accompanied with fine clear weather. At noon the latitude observation was 34° 31′ S.; thermometer in the shade on deck 64°. At 6 A.M. the Three Kings hove in sight, and at 8 they bore N.E. by N.½N. six leagues. We had all sail set working to windward, as it blew directly from the shore. At 4 P.M. the centre of the Three Kings bore N.E. by N. six or seven leagues. We had all sail set steering to the northward, with a view of passing on that side of them, not wishing to be caught in this un-

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settled weather between the islands and Cape Maria Van Diemen.

27th.—The first part of the day, light variable airs from the south-west; the latter part perfect calm. At daylight this morning we had the Three Kings in sight, bearing E. by S., distance about ten leagues. Latitude by observation at noon 34° 7′ S.; thermometer on deck 63° in the shade. At sunset the centre of the Kings bore E.½S. per compass, eight or nine leagues.

28th.—Unsteady breezes throughout these twenty-four hours, from N.E. to N. by W. with occasional showers of rain. Carried as much sail as possible, working the ship to windward. At noon the Kings bore E.½N. per compass ten leagues. The thermometer on deck at the same time stood at 61°.

29th.—The first and middle part of these twenty-four hours strong breezes and cloudy, thick weather with rain; winds from N. to N.W. Latter part light breezes with clear weather; winds from W.N.W. to W.

Being on the starboard tack standing to the westward till 4 A.M., tacked about and stood to the eastward. At 10 A.M. the Kings were in sight. At noon the centre of them bore E. by S. distance nine miles. The wind being free, stood to the eastward under a heavy press of

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sail, and happily succeeded in passing them at 3 P.M., this being the fifth day the ship was in sight of them. This was rather an extraordinary occurrence at this season of the year, as the wind generally blows strong from the westward, enabling ships from Sydney to make a passage to the Kings in eight or ten days at most; but, unfortunately for our expedition, the ship had been now twenty-seven days on the passage.

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CHAPTER VI.

OCCURRENCES AT NEW ZEALAND.

1*st July* 1827. – Though the first part of this day had been squally, in the middle and latter part we had fine pleasant weather. At daylight stood in for the Bay of Islands, and at 9 A.M. anchored in five and a half fathoms of water in Corararicka Bay. The ship was surrounded before letting go the anchor by several canoes, containing a number of natives. Being Sunday, we were all attired in our best. I spoke to them in the native language, but they did not recognize me for a long time. At length one of the young ladies called out most lustily, notwithstanding her delicate sex, "*Rangatheera no Patareeckee*," it is the captain of the *St. Patrick;* alluding to the ship which I commanded here last year. This recognition was re-echoed in every New Zealand throat, and nothing for some time was audible but the word "Peter," the name by which I am known by the South Sea Islanders.

A man who appeared to be of some consequence in one of the canoes, requested to be admitted on board, but this I refused; alleging as my reason that he had nothing to barter.

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He replied that he had. I repeated that I could see nothing: but he, pointing to the stern of his canoe, in which sat a pretty female about twelve years old, insisted with a significant glance that he had something better than a "*buocka*" (hog). I thanked him for his kind intentions, but replied, that the ship was *tabooed* (*i. e.* sacred, or not to be approached) until another anchor was let go, and the sails handed. Our conversation then assumed a political cast, in the course of which he informed me that he was the nephew of Boo Marray, a great and powerful chief, and the proprietor of this harbour, who, he said, my friends at the river Thames had killed about twelve months ago. He also said that Boo Marray's son had been killed with about two hundred warriors, and that there was an expedition then fitting out against the Thames tribes, consisting of all the allied chiefs of the north, who were fully determined to exterminate the whole of the Boroos and McMarraghs. He then inquired where the two young men were that belonged to the Thames country, whom I took from thence in the *St. Patrick*. Being informed that they were with me he then said, "You must deliver them up, that we may kill and eat them directly." He was clothed in a war mat, with a mantle of dog-skins thrown loosely over his

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shoulders; his countenance at this moment assumed an aspect of the most savage ferocity, his eyes starting from their sockets with the intenseness of desire to seize on the innocent relatives of a people with whom he happened to be at war. It is hardly necessary to say, I replied to his cannibal request by telling him that the young men were under the protection of the British flag and guns, and should not be molested while on board: that they were *tabooed.* When on shore they might be treated conformably with the laws of New Zealand; but the intimation of his intentions regarding them, would make me careful as to where they should land.

I ordered up my friends, Brian Boroo and Morgan McMarragh, who went to the side of the vessel and commenced a conversation with their would-be devourer. The chief spoke to them with as much nonchalance as if he had never expressed a wish to pick their ribs or sup on their roasted chine: a business that, if I might judge from the preparations his canoe exhibited, he seemed to have entertained some idea of, prior to putting off to the ship. He spoke in terms of the highest respect and praise of Brian's father, saying that two of Boo Marray's sons were taken in battle, with other men of consequence belonging to his tribe, and enslaved. That Brian's father shortly afterwards

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ordered them to be released, and furnished them with a canoe, in which they returned to their native district, and were now two days' march in the interior, but would pay him a visit the moment they heard that he had arrived.

The ship being moored, this gentleman was allowed to come on board. Brian Boroo and he took each other by the hand, and gently inclined their heads until their noses touched. Their conversation then turned upon the heroic exploits of Brian's countrymen in the late wars.

Several young ladies condescended to come on board, and the decks were shortly crowded with females, some of whom made a very genteel appearance, being dressed in English gowns, shirts, and petticoats: others were in their native costume. Without solicitation, they proceeded voluntarily to amuse us with songs, dances, war whoops, and comic performances, in which they succeeded inimitably.

Many of them were so kind as to remain all night on board, and indeed did not depart during the ship's stay. This, however, I would not have permitted, were it not that I knew they expected it as a matter of course. It being the practice with whalers touching here, to receive and treat them very kindly, and a deviation from such custom on my part, might tend

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to engender suspicion and distrust in their minds, which was a feeling I particularly wished to avoid.

This mode of acting toward savages is in my opinion founded on the soundest policy. All savage nations with whom I have had intercourse for the last nineteen years, when meditating any thing against the lives of those whom they regard as enemies, as the first step secure their wives, children, and the aged, and place them beyond the reach of those they intend to attack. When neither women nor children are to be seen, it may with certainty be concluded that an attack is in contemplation : whereas their allowing them to remain on board a ship, is a sure guarantee of their peaceful intentions. They become, as it were, hostages for the lives of the seamen who are employed on shore to procure wood and water ; for should a party on the land have formed any design on the lives of the boat's crew, others interested in the safety of the females would oppose the execution of it, and would naturally reason thus : "if you molest those people, my sister, my niece, or my daughter, who are now on board, will be murdered."

I have been at islands where nothing could induce the natives to come on board till they beheld a couple of women and children moving about. Their fears then vanished, and gave

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place to the most implicit confidence; and not only would the men venture into the ship, but they would bring their females also to visit the strangers. Confidence being thus established, I always managed to have a sufficient number of women on board on a friendly visit, while my men were employed on shore wooding, watering, and searching for sandal-wood.

The opening or entrance of the Bay of Islands is formed between Point Pocock on the north-west and Cape Brett on the east. The distance between the Point and Cape Brett is about four leagues in breadth. The shore may be approached within a cable's length on either side of this large bay. There is only one danger to be avoided, which is the Whale Rock of Captain Cook, laid down on my chart of this bay.

Within half a mile of the islands which front the coast from Cape Brett, near Thapecka Point, which forms the eastern boundary of the harbour of Corararicka, the hills on each side of the bay present to view a covering of green fern and innumerable trees of various sizes and species.

2d.—Light breezes, with fine weather; wind from the westward. Thermom. in the shade 61°.

My people were employed in hoisting out the long-boat, and getting down the lower yards,

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in order to replace them with new ones, they having been much injured by the late stormy weather.

Shortly after daylight several canoes put off to the ship, laden with hogs, potatoes, &c., a part of which I purchased in exchange for muskets and gunpowder.

About 10 A.M. I went ashore, accompanied by Monsieur Chaigneau and Mr. Griffiths the surgeon. We landed at the watering place, where we found the stream very scanty, owing to the long drought. The natives received us kindly, and conducted us along a path which they said led to an Englishman's house.

We shortly reached a very neat hut, surrounded with a palisading of about nine feet high. On entering it, we found the inhabitants consisted of an English cooper and his wife, a native of New Zealand. The man informed us that he had been cooper's mate to a whaler, and had been left on the island in consequence of ill health; that he had not thoroughly recovered yet from his illness, and never expected that he should. He is sometimes employed by the shipping that touch here in repairing their water-casks, making buckets, and performing any other work that they may occasionally require in the way of his trade, for which he receives gunpowder, flints, musket-balls, cut-

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lery, ironmongery, &c., and barters those articles with the natives for hogs, fish, poultry, wild ducks, pigeons, and potatoes, whereby he ekes out a very comfortable subsistence for himself and wife.

He is under the protection of a mighty chief, named King George, who was up the river at the timber district, procuring spars for his son-in-law, the captain of an English whaler, shortly expected to arrive from the fishery, whither he had also taken his wife.

The cooper told us that he understood a company had been formed in England for the purpose of establishing a factory here, and to procure spars, flax, and the other productions of New Zealand. That for this purpose a ship and cutter belonging to the company arrived from England, under the command of their agent, Captain Herd, with mechanics of the descriptions most likely to promote the end in view. They consisted of ship-carpenters, sawyers, blacksmiths, and flax-dressers, and they had on board with them machines for sawing and flax-dressing.

Captain Herd, however, disliked the appearance of the New Zealanders * so much that he abandoned the expedition, and proceeded to

* And certainly, from his own account, he was perfectly justified in so doing.

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Port Jackson, and on his arrival at Sydney such of the mechanics as desired it were discharged. Four of them returned to New Zealand, took up their lodgings with the cooper, and were now employed on the other side of the bay, by the missionaries established here, in repairing a small schooner that plies to New South Wales, and brings supplies for the missionary establishment.

We passed a little further along the beach, and came to another small cabin, inhabited by a blacksmith that belonged to Captain Herd's expedition, and settled here when it first touched at the islands. He is married to a New Zealand woman.

Further on we came to a third dwelling, occupied by four Europeans, employed in sawing plank. Johnston, the proprietor of it, was discharged from a whaler about three years ago, and forming the resolution to settle here, united himself with a native woman of the country, who had two fine children by him. He disposes of his planks to the ships which touch here, receiving in return tea, sugar, biscuit, flour, and such articles as the cooper accepts for his work.

This man informed me that he lived under the protection of Moyhanger, the chief who accompanied Mr. John Savage to England in 1805 or 1806, and was the first New Zealander

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that ever appeared in Europe or at the British court. Moyhanger is a chief of considerable importance, brother to queen Terrooloo, the mother of the great and powerful king George.

We extended our walk across an isthmus that conducted us to a beautiful bay, about a mile and a half distant from the ship. Here we found the village and fort of the late Boo Marray, in which was a house, built of plank, of English construction, or rather resembling the houses of New South Wales, with glass windows. It consisted of two apartments; the one a bed and the other a dining room. The house was furnished with some chairs, a table, bedstead and bedding, a looking-glass and dressing-case, with various other necessaries. This house, I understand, belongs to the captain of an English whaler called the *Emily*, son-in-law to the late Boo Marray, and at the time of my visit the gentleman and his wife were absent at the fishery on the equator.

The personage who conducted us from the watering place was Thee Thory, chief of Wyemattee, holding a rank similar to that of a marquis in Europe, and brother in-law to the great chief Shanghi. He was, without exception, one of the finest made men I ever met with. He informed me that Shanghi had lately made war upon the Wangeroa tribe, one half of whom he

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slew, and drove the other half from that part of the country.

Wangeroa is about sixteen miles from the Bay of Islands, and is the place where the dreadful catastrophe of the *Boyd* took place. It was here that the crew and passengers of that ill-fated ship were cruelly massacred and devoured, in the year 1809.

In 1823, or early in 1824, this savage tribe attacked the *Mercury*, an English whaler brig, and plundered her of every thing portable on board. The captain and crew sought safety in the boats, abandoning the ship to the fury of the savages, leaving only the chief mate and steward on board. Being taken by surprise, they could not bring the latter off with them, but proceeded with the boats to the Bay of Islands, and joined some whalers whom they found at anchor there. The two men would have been massacred but for the interference of one of the missionaries established at Wangeroa, who reached the vessel just in time to save the lives of his hapless countrymen. Having succeeded in persuading the natives to quit the brig, and the wind at the same time springing up from the shore, the mate, assisted by the missionary and steward, made sail and stood out to sea.

At the time the islanders boarded her the *Mercury* touched the ground, which rendered

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her very leaky, and those on board were therefore compelled to abandon her, taking to the whale-boat in order to preserve themselves from going down. Shortly afterwards the vessel was thrown on shore near the North Cape, and became a total wreck.

We learnt from the Europeans who resided on shore that the object which the four carpenters before-mentioned had in view in returning to New Zealand, was to proceed to Hookianga, a harbour on the west side of this island, distant from hence about thirty-five miles, and there build a vessel on their own account. Messrs. Cooper and Levery, and Messrs. Raine and Ramsay, two respectable firms at Port Jackson, have each I understand, an establishment at Hookianga for procuring pork, flax, spars, planks, &c., and are very well treated by the natives, who have permitted them within the last twelve months to build two or three small schooners.

In the afternoon I returned to the ship, in company with my conductor, the Marquis of Wyemattee, who seemed highly pleased with her warlike appearance; but particularly viewed with eager eyes the musket-rack: indeed so intense was his attention to these fire-arms, that it was not an easy matter to divert it to any other object. He expressed a very anxious wish to go to Bengal, and inquired from Prince Brian Bo-

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roo (whom he tenderly embraced) if he was likely to meet with as good a reception at Bengal as his kinsman Shanghi had experienced in England, who was kindly received by his royal brother, King George the Fourth of Great Britain, who bestowed on him a coat of scale armour, impervious to musket-balls, spears, or arrows, and an elegant double-barrelled gun, with a vast variety of other presents.

Prince Brian endeavoured, though without effect, to dissuade him from encountering the Indian climate, which he represented as very unhealthy; saying it was intolerably warm, and so much infested with musquitoes as to prevent sleep. That the only person he (the prince) met in Bengal to give him muskets, food, lodging, or clothing, was his friend Peter, and that, all things considered, he had much better remain in his own country. However, the idea of all the fine things that his kinsman had received in Europe so wrought upon the marquis's imagination, that his resolution to see Bengal could not be conquered by Brian's rhetoric, and he avowed his intention of acquainting Shanghi, his brother-in-law, of the affair, who knew and had sailed with me when he (the marquis) was quite a lad.

Thee Thory made me a present of seven hogs, and forty or fifty baskets of potatoes, each

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weighing about seventeen pounds; in return for which I presented him with an old musket and some gunpowder, as the most desirable gift I could confer, which was evinced by the thankfulness of his countenance on receiving them. He then bad me adieu, and set out for his brother-in-law's residence at Wangeroa.

At night I gave the officers the strictest charge to keep a good look-out, and not to suffer their vigilance to be lulled by the friendly appearance of the natives: for though they gave the whalers a friendly reception, our conduct was not to be guided by theirs, since our circumstances were so widely different. The small arms, ammunition, cutlasses, &c. which we had on board, were powerful stimulants to a fierce and warlike people, and might act as an additional inducement to them to surprise us, as they did the *Boyd* and the *Mercury*. It was incumbent on us, for the general safety, to keep the most vigilant watch during the night.

3d.—My first visit to this bay was in the *Mercury*, in November 1809. My next was in command of the *Active* brig, of Calcutta, in June 1814, sent here by the Reverend Samuel Marsden, to convey Messrs. Kendall and Hall, missionaries, to try the disposition of the natives, and ascertain if it were possible to establish a mission among them with any degree of safety.

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My third visit was in August 1823, while commanding the *Calder*, of Calcutta. My fourth was also in the *Calder*, in February 1825; my fifth in the ship *St. Patrick*, in April 1826; and the present made my sixth visit to New Zealand.

The following chiefs went passengers from here to Port Jackson with me in the *Active* in 1814:—Dueetarra, Korrakorra, Tui, king Shanghi, Depero, son to Shanghi, and Thenānā.

Before I reached this port in the *St. Patrick* last year, I had been in the river Thames, where I lay at anchor during the months of January, February, and March, purchasing and taking in a cargo of spars for the East-India market.

4th.—I was visited this morning by queen Terrooloo, her brother Moyhanger, and her son king George, who were on their return from the spar district to their respective residences at Korrararicka.

Shortly after king George came on deck he inquired for Brian Boroo, who after some persuasion on my part came up from below. King George approached him and embraced him tenderly, as did his mother and Moyhanger, and in a long and eloquent speech to Brian Boroo and Morgan M'Marragh, desired them, on their arrival at the Thames, to inform their friends that himself and the chiefs of the

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north had not forgot the death of Boo Marray: that it was his determination to set out for the Thames as soon as the potato crops were housed (which would be in January next), to seek revenge for the loss of Boo Marray, and several other friends, slain in battle about twelve months ago. He at the same time admitted that the battle in which Boo Marray was killed took place in the middle of the day, that there was no treacherous night-work in it, and that it was all fair fighting. He then presented Brian Boroo with a few baskets of potatos, and assured him that he had the greatest regard for his father, and was exceedingly sorry that the laws of New Zealand compelled him to seek blood for blood, and go to war with Brian's friends.

Moyhanger is a man with a small shrewd eye: his countenance indicates all that cunning, characteristic of one brought up in a state of nature. On seeing the lascars, he knew they were from a country he once visited. He enquired of me if I had seen his friend "Missi Savage." I knew he meant Dr. John Savage, now a full surgeon in the Hon. East India Company's service at Calcutta. I replied, "I saw Dr. Savage a few months ago, who asked me whether Moyhanger was alive or not. I told him I believed you were alive; that you were

now known by the name of king Charley; and that I had seen you when I was here in the *St. Patrick.*"

He wept bitterly, and said, "Missi Savage was a very good man: he took me to England and brought me to King George's house. I was a fool at that time; I did not know what was good. When King George asked me what I liked, I told him some *tokees* (iron tools) and nails. Had I asked for muskets, he would have given me a hundred. We did not know the use of them in New Zealand at that time, and set no value on them: but were I to go to England now, and King George the *meidey* (meaning King George the son) were to ask me what I liked in England, I would say 'boo, boo' (that is, 'musket, musket')."

I requested him to inform me how he got to England. He gave his narrative nearly in the following words:

"Missi Savage came here in a whaler from Port Jackson: I went with him. We were four months going from here to St. Helena, where we lay at anchor some weeks, until a number of large ships from the lascars' country (Indiamen) came in. We left the whaler, and went on board of one of them. We all sailed together from St. Helena for England. I saw the coast of France before I got to London, to which

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country, I understood, Marion belonged, who was killed in Parao Bay a long time ago.

"After I arrived in London, a friend of Dr. Savage (Earl Fitzwilliam) took me to King George's house: I was dressed in my New Zealand mats. We entered a large room, and shortly after King George and Queen Charlotte came in. I was much disappointed: I expected to see a great warrior; but he was an old man that could neither throw a spear nor fire a musket. Queen Charlotte was very old too: she was bent with age. They behaved very kind, and asked me what I liked best in England to take home with me. I told them *tokees*. Queen Charlotte put her hand under her mat into a little bag that was there, and took out of it some red money (meaning guineas) and gave it to me. Queen Charlotte asked me to give the war-dance of New Zealand. When I did so she appeared frightened: but King George laughed, saying, ha! ha! ha!

"I then went out with my friends, and got the full of my hand of white money (shillings) for one of the red ones. I thought the people in England very foolish to give so many white monies of the same size for the red one of Queen Charlotte.

"Shortly after this I got a wife with some of Queen Charlotte's red money; her name was

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Nancy. She was very fond of me, and proved pregnant. She used to ask me if the child when born would go to New Zealand, and if it would have such marks on its face as mine.

"I was then ordered on board the *Porpoise* man of war, and went with her to St. Helena, the Cape of Good Hope, and Madras, where I saw Governor Barlow, who looked very much like you: I believe he is your father. He is great man." (In this I did not undeceive him.)

From what I could now make out, I supposed him to have gone up the Persian Gulph. He described some country he visited that I could not properly understand.* However, he soon after stated himself to have sailed from Madras for England, and on his arrival there to have been put on board a whaler commanded by Capt. Skelton. In her he proceeded to Van Diemen's Land, and from thence to New Zealand, without touching at Port Jackson.

He, with his sister the queen, and his nephew king George, begged and intreated of me to take him with me to Bengal to see his friend Mr. Savage; and being ten or twelve men

* Since my arrival in England I have been informed that Moyhanger did not make the voyage to India, as he here represented, no doubt to serve some purpose or gratify some fancy of his own.—*April* 1829.

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short of my complement, I agreed to it. He said he could not pull the ropes, but that he would make a good soldier and fight, either on board the ship or in the boats. I told him to be prepared, and that I would take him on board when I was about to sail.

As Moyhanger mentioned the name of Marion, I deemed it prudent to inquire into the circumstances that led to that gentleman's massacre in this bay. From what I learnt, Capt. Marion being on a voyage of discovery in 1772, touched at the Bay of Islands, where the ships anchored in a bay, now called 'Man o' War's Bay,' situated at the back of Parao Island, which is one of those islands fronting the coast from Cape Brett to near Tapecka Point. Queen Toorooloo said she recollected perfectly well the massacre. That there was an European female on board of Marion's ship, whose name was Micky; and that she had a child with her, but whether male or female I could not make out. Micky had been on shore at Parao washing some linen; and a party of the Wangeroa tribe being there on a fishing party, stole some of it. A scuffle also ensued between the seamen and natives about some fish that were taken in a net. Micky was alarmed, and made the best of her way off to the ship in one of the boats. In the mean time Captain Marion, unacquainted

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with what had taken place, landed, and was killed.

The account of what had happened shortly reached the ships, and two hundred men went on shore armed with muskets; but the natives, confident in their numbers, and unacquainted with the deadly effect of fire-arms, faced them boldly. The patoo-patoo and spear stood no chance against musket-balls, and the Wangeroa people, who fell in dozens, could not conceive how it happened, not being able to discover the instrument by which they were wounded. At length they flew to the main land, and sought safety in a fortified place, supposing they had been engaged with spirits, who blew fire and smoke at them out of their mouths through the muskets. The musket they called "boo," which word in New Zealand signifies "to blow." They were pursued by the Frenchmen to the main land, where vast numbers were killed.

The person who murdered Captain Marion was named Cooley (or the dog): he was a native of Wangeroa; and it is rather extraordinary that the Wangeroa tribes were the first and last to molest and injure Europeans.

There are several songs composed by native bards on the battle and death of Marion, in which the name of Micky and her child are frequently mentioned. I have heard those

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songs sung on various occasions, but did not understand the meaning of them till now.

When the natives learnt that Monsieur Chaigneau, the French gentleman attached to the expedition, was a countryman of Marion's, they called him by the name of Marion, and continued to do so during our stay here.

Towards evening king George left the ship with his mother and uncle, having each of them teased me out of a musket.

5th.—This morning at daylight I went on deck, pointed out to the carpenter and the other mechanics their respective jobs for the day, and returned to my cabin. Shortly after the chief officer informed me that the carpenter refused to work, pretending to be sick; which I considered rather extraordinary, having but a few minutes before seen him, when he did not complain of illness. I proceeded therefore on deck, and was informed that the carpenter had retired to bed; on which I sent for him, and directed him to go to work: he refused, and told me plainly he would go on shore. To deter and affright him from this step I had recourse to the following expedient. I asked him if he had seen any preserved human heads offered for sale by the natives since our arrival? He replied, "Yes."—"Then, sir," said I, "if you attempt to desert from the ship, I will pay the natives

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to preserve your head and bring it here as a curiosity." This threat had the desired effect.

Seeing the four carpenters belonging to Capt. Herd's expedition settled on shore, with as many wives as they thought proper to keep, and under no control, my carpenter had formed the wish to join them as already stated.

I sent the surgeon to see if there was any thing the matter with the man, who reported that he was intoxicated, and ought not to be exempted from work. I therefore sent for him again; but, as he hesitated in coming up from his birth, I desired him to be informed, that if he did not immediately return to his duty I would punish him. He then approached me in a menacing posture, with a sharp-pointed chisel in his hand, and as I expected he was going to stab me, I seized on the first weapon I could make use of to defend myself. This happened to be the leg of a chair: with it I succeeded in keeping him off, and ultimately forced him to ascend the main rigging and proceed into the top, where he resumed his duty.*

The officer then complained to me that the

* This gross insubordination arose from the example set to my crew by the Van Diemen's Land convict judge, who had given them to understand that I had no more authority or control over my men than the master of a merchant vessel trading between London and Botany Bay. However, I soon convinced them to the contrary.

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officers of the night-watches had great trouble in getting their respective watches on deck last night, and that several of the crew were then in a state of intoxication. I was not surprised at this, such occurrences having frequently taken place on board during the time of the former chief officer, but I was at a loss to ascertain how they procured the liquor. The only rational conjecture I could form was that they had been plundering the hold, or my cabin stores, as I had already lost nearly eighteen dozen of wine.

Two of the men who refused to work were this day punished with a few stripes of a rattan and rope's-end.

The European part of my crew were without exception the most abandoned set I ever met with; they were all deserters from other ships, not one of them going by his proper name. They had been suffered to act as they pleased by my late chief officer, and were indulged in their sloth and filth, of which neglect the ship displayed evident marks. If an officer now requested them to do their duty, he was treated with the grossest insolence; as they fancied that they ought to be permitted to act in the same manner as formerly, and that the lascars should clean the ship, leaving these mutinous unprincipled rascals nothing more to do than steer the vessel, eat, drink, and sleep.

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6th.—Yesterday and to-day, which were the only days of fine weather that we have had since our arrival here, I had the people employed in stowing and cleaning the hold fore and aft. The weather being much unsettled, impeded our progress, as we had to hand all our dry provisions on deck before we could get at our water-casks, which were stowed in the ground tier; and when an occasional shower of rain came, or any appearance of it, we had to put our provisions off deck immediately to preserve them, and get them up again when the weather would permit.

The ship having been much injured, both in her spars and bolts, during the late gales, I employed a carpenter from the shore, with a blacksmith, to assist those on board.

At 2½ A.M. the moon shone with peculiar brilliancy. All was hushed in the most solemn silence on deck: not a foot in motion throughout the ship, although there ought at that time to have been fifteen men on the alert, that being the complement of which each watch consisted. Supposing all was not right, I went on the quarter-deck, when to my astonishment, I beheld the second officer sound asleep upon a small cask, loudly snoring as he sat. I did not disturb him, wishing to ascertain how long he would continue in that situation.

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There was not one man of the watch to be seen, and the vessel seemed deserted by all, save the sleeper and myself. I reflected on the risks to which the lives and property of all on board were exposed by this shameful disregard of my most positive injunctions, and my mind dwelt with pain on the instance before me of a dereliction from all the principles of duty.

While I was thus employed, one of the men having at length perceived me, with cool deliberation walked from the poop to the quarter-deck, and feigning to look out of the port near to which the officer was still sitting asleep, he had the audacity to stand upon his foot, although I was steadfastly looking at him all the time. Observing his intention, which was to awaken him, I reproved his unmannerly behaviour, and asked him how he dared take the liberty to disturb the gentleman while sleeping so comfortably? The man replied, that he had only come from the poop in order to look through the port at a canoe which he supposed to be coming up to the ship. This was but a petty subterfuge, for on board of a ship we always get upon the most elevated situation to look out for approaching danger; but this man, on the contrary, had descended to the quarter-deck from the poop, to look through a port that was nearly blocked up by a twelve-pounder.

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The officer being now awake, I addressed him nearly in the following words: "Sir, are you devoid of all sense of manly and honourable feeling, thus to expose this ship, the property of the Hon. East-India Company, with all the lives on board, to the savage inhabitants of New Zealand! Can you so soon forget the remark I placed on the log-board on the 17th June last, for your guidance as well as that of the other officers in the ship? do you forget whose conduct gave rise to that remark? To what purpose did I address you and the other officers on Monday evening last, when I so strictly charged you to be vigilant, particularly at night? Did I not endeavour most forcibly to impress on your mind, that no confidence is to be placed in savages, who at best only await favourable opportunities for destroying us? Consider the melancholy catastrophes of the *Boyd* and *Mercury*: do you wish to have the dreadful scene reacted on board the *Research?* What do you mean by this conduct? If I were in a port where I could procure another officer to fill your situation, I would instantly dismiss you. Such conduct is disgraceful to the character of a British officer and seaman; and if again repeated I shall disrate you, and send you off the quarter-deck." He listened attentively, and promised to behave better in future.

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8th.—Fine pleasant weather throughout the day. At 7 A.M. an English South-seaman, called the *Emily* of London, arrived here from the fishery with a full cargo of sperm oil. She had put in to refit, and proceed thence to London direct. On board of her was Boo Marray's daughter, whom I had often seen before. She wept bitterly on seeing me, as I was a particular friend of her father, who she said was now no more.

It is the custom in New Zealand, when friends or relations meet after long absence, for both parties to touch noses and shed tears. With this ceremony I have frequently complied out of courtesy; for my failure in this respect would have been considered a breach of friendship, and I should have been regarded as little better than a barbarian, according to the rules of New Zealand politeness. Unfortunately, however, my hard heart could not upon all occasions readily produce a tear, not being made of such melting stuff as those of the New Zealanders; but the application of a pocket handkerchief to my eyes for some time, accompanied with an occasional howl in the native language, answered all the purposes of real grief. This ceremony is dispensed with from strange Europeans; but with me it was indispensable, I being a "*Thongata moury;*" that is, a New Zea-

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lander, or countryman, as they were pleased to term me.

After the excess of our sorrow at the recollection of Boo Marray had subsided, the captain's lady seemed very much pleased on learning that Brian Boroo was on board the *Research* and in good health. She said that he had been an old sweetheart of her's, and intreated of me to protect him from the fury of her brothers and tribe. Both she and her husband dined with me to-day, and she handled her knife, fork, and spoon, and otherwise conformed to our rules of table etiquette, in a style that would do credit to many persons laying claim to a greater share of refinement.

The commander of the *Emily* informed me that he procured his cargo of oil on or about the equator, between the longitudes of 175° E. and 175° west. His water falling short, he touched at Simpson's Island, in latitude 0° 25′ N. and longitude 175° 32′ E., to procure a supply. With this view he sent two of his boats on shore with their respective crews, where one remained for the purpose of digging a well in the sandy beach, while the other put back to the ship for the casks.

On the return of this last boat the natives rushed out from the woods, armed with lances and daggers, the sides and points of which were

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set with sharks' teeth, and attacked the Europeans so suddenly that they were thrown into some confusion. In one of the boats were two muskets, one of which was rendered unserviceable by the water, but with the other one of Brian Boroo's subjects did a good deal of execution. The party were compelled to abandon one boat to the fury of the natives, and retreat in the other, after one European and one New Zealander had been slain in the affray, whose bodies fell into the hands of the savages. A second attempt to land was not made.

9th.—Moderate breezes and fine weather. Our people employed rafting off water-casks. The run of water on shore is very small at this season, the rains not having properly set in yet. The whole force of the stream was not greater than if it ran through a pistol-barrel. I kept the people on shore during the nights as well as the days to fill the casks.

I was visited this morning by a lascar, and an Otaheitan named Jemmy, whom I had seen on board the ship *City of Edinbro'* in this port in November 1809. They left that ship, and have since resided among the New Zealanders. The *City of Edinbro'* belonged to the Cape of Good Hope, and was owned by Messrs. Shortt and Berry, of Cape Town, both of whom now reside in New South Wales. The lascar in-

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formed me that he was treated very kindly by the natives. His countrymen on board and myself made him several presents of ironmongery and other things which might be useful to him in his adopted country, and I also made Jemmy some presents. He had a son with him, a lad of about twelve years old.

Shortly afterwards Moyhanger came on board, to know if I yet retained my intention of taking him with me to Bengal, to see his friend Mr. Savage? I told him that I would: when he said that he had something to shew me, and drew from under his cloak an old soldier's cap, asking me if I could accommodate him with a red jacket. Having satisfied him in this respect, he observed that he should make a brave soldier, and would no doubt look well in uniform.

In the course of our conversation he informed me that his tribe had assisted Mr. Berry, of the ship *City of Edinbro'*, to rescue the survivors of the *Boyd* from the people of Wangeroa. His mentioning this circumstance induced me to inquire of him what he knew concerning the unhappy fate of that ship, which he readily agreed to relate to me.

Before giving Moyhanger's story I must relate some circumstances anterior to it, which I am myself acquainted with, and which will serve as a prelude to the tragedy.

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The first European vessel that entered Wangeroa was the *Star*, an English South-seaman, commanded by Captain Wilkinson, who arrived there in the year 1805 or 1806. The head chief of Wangeroa at that period was named "Peepee" (or Cockle), who had a son. This chief requested Captain Wilkinson to take his son with him to Europe, where he might procure some *tokees* and fish-hooks for his father and tribe. The young man accordingly embarked with an attendant on the *Star*, and sailed with Captain Wilkinson to the seal fishery at the Antipodes Islands. While on board the young prince obtained the name of George, which he retained till his death, which happened in 1823. On the captain's return from the seal fishery he touched at Wangeroa, where George requested to be landed, and was accordingly restored to his friends, having been treated by the good captain with particular kindness during the voyage.

The next vessel which visited Wangeroa was the *Commerce* brig, which came here for spars in 1807.

After her, in 1808, the *Elizabeth*, belonging to Mr. Blackall, of Port Jackson, and commanded by Captain Stuard, bound for the Fejees, touched at Wangeroa on her voyage. It was in this vessel that Prince George a second time quitted his friends and native country, to

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try what he could gain by adventure. He performed the voyage to the Fejees, and from thence to Port Jackson, where he arrived in November of the same year. Here he met his old friend Captain Wilkinson, of the *Star*, and did not require much persuasion to induce him to embark with him upon a sealing expedition to the South Seas.

It may be necessary to observe in this place, that the rate of payment in whaling and sealing ships entirely depends upon the success which may attend the voyage, there being a certain proportion of the skins or oil allotted to each individual, according to the capacity in which he engages, or his skill in the fishery. Hence it is not improbable that the adventurers may, on some voyages, make a very handsome "lay," as the South-seamen term it; while it is equally possible that they may have nothing for a long and tedious voyage, the whole depending, as before stated, on the success which they have.

The vessel in which George shipped was employed till late in 1809 in a fruitless search after seals, and the consequence was, that after twelve months' labour and fatigue at sea, poor George had nothing to receive: a circumstance which, no doubt, preyed on his mind, being incapable of reasoning on the fairness of the system of pay in the sealing trade. It was suffi-

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cient for him to know that he had worked enough for the white people to be entitled to some compensation, and not receiving any, he considered himself injured.

On his return to Port Jackson he shipped on the *Boyd*, without either *tokees* or nails, to return to his native country, almost as poor as he had quitted it. The *Boyd* was a ship of nearly 500 tons burden, and was commanded by Captain John Thomson: she belonged to the highly respectable firm of Boyd, Buckle, and Buchanan, of London. She was chartered by the British Government early in 1809 to convey convicts and stores to New South Wales, where having arrived, she was partly chartered by Mr. S. Lord of Sidney, to proceed to Wangeroa for spars, which were to be discharged at the Cape of Good Hope. Mr. Lord also put on board a large quantity of New South Wales mahogany, seal skins, oil, and coals, for the same market, in all amounting to £15,000 worth.

There was an East-India captain named Burnsides, who was a passenger in her, and who having by industry accumulated a fortune of £30,000, was on his return to end his days among his friends on the banks of the Liffey. This was an object poor Burnsides had always kept in view: it was the goal of his long and arduous exertions; a subject to which with

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much fondness he constantly reverted, during the period I had been intimately acquainted with him. But, alas! he was doomed to end his days far otherwise than among friends: he never again beheld the populous banks of the river Liffey, but was murdered on the savage shores of the Wangerao.

Having premised thus much, I shall now proceed with Moyhanger's narrative.

A few days after the *Boyd* had sailed from Port Jackson, the cook, by accident or neglect, threw overboard in a bucket of water a dozen of pewter spoons belonging to the captain's mess. Apprehensive of incurring a rope's-ending for his negligence, he formed the fatal resolve of exculpating himself by a lie, which, as it in the event proved, was the cause of the destruction of the ship, of the loss of seventy lives, British subjects, who were killed, roasted, and devoured, and of the demolition of property to the amount of nearly £40,000.

The cook, to screen himself from blame, informed the captain that George and his attendant had stolen them; and the captain, without sufficient investigation into the affair, ordered the New Zealand chief before him, and directed the boatswain to punish him, who, being a powerful man performed this office with severity.

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In vain did George urge that he was a chief, and ought not to be degraded by punishment: Captain Tompson only replied that he was a *cokey* (slave), thus adding insult to the injury. George still insisted that he was a chief, and that upon their arrival at New Zealand the captain *should see it!* His remonstrance, however, was of no avail, and he received a punishment the marks of which he bore on his back when he rejoined his friends.

Captain Thomson's behaviour in this affair cannot be too much censured. Savages are characterized by a peculiar susceptibility of indignity, while they are equally susceptible of gratitude. In fact, the extreme to which these opposite passions predominate in their breasts, forms one of the principal traits in the uncivilized mind. There cannot be the least doubt that from the moment George's appeals were disregarded, the *Boyd* and those on board were marked for destruction, as the only means of appeasing his thirst for revenge.

The ship arrived at Wangeroa, I believe, late in December the same year, and George with his attendant immediately landed, having apparently forgotten his recent chastisement, but inwardly vowing deep revenge. He hastened to his friends, and informed them that he had served the white men for two *raw-ma-*

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thies,* but had not received any thing in return; that he came back nearly as poor as when he first departed from among them; and that, to crown all his wrongs, the captain of the *Boyd* had severely beaten him but a few days before. He then uncovered his back and exhibited the marks, yet livid from the effects of the lash. This sight roused the feelings of George's subjects to the highest pitch of indignation, and they vowed revenge on those who had thus maltreated their chief. The shew of friendship toward the devoted captain and his people was however kept up to the last; and the next morning was appointed by Capt. Thomson to proceed to the forest where the spars grew, which was situated about nine or ten miles up the river.

George now planned the massacre, which he successfully and fatally carried into effect on the following day. He directed those of his countrymen who stopped behind in the village to get on board the ship by dusk in the evening, and that he with the party who accompanied Captain Thomson and his men would murder them, and clothing themselves in the European dresses, would under this disguise join their countrymen on board before any tidings

* *Raw-mathy* signifies a year: literally a dead leaf, or the fall of the leaf.

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of the affair arrived, and when there they would complete the destruction of every white survivor.

The captain's arrangements in the morning unfortunately afforded too great a facility to the execution of this murderous project, having taken three boats with their crews up the river, and leaving very few hands to take care of the ship, or to defend her in case of an attack.

George before setting out reminded the villagers to obtain admittance to the ship before dusk, as arranged the evening before: this they faithfully performed. In the mean time the Europeans proceeded up the river, accompanied by George and his tribe, until they arrived at the spar forests, where they debarked, and proceeded into the recesses of the wood in quest of trees fit for their purpose. The captain began to object against one that it was too crooked, another as being too large, and a third as too short, when George threw off his New Zealand cloak, and in very plain language told him that he should have no others, and continued, "Captain Thomson, see how you have served my back" (pointing at the same time to the marks of his punishment). The throwing off the cloak was the signal for a general massacre; and George had scarcely finished the last words, when his brother dashed out the cap-

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tain's brains; and in a moment, before the least opposition could be offered, every European was laid dead on the spot.

The bodies being then stripped, were placed in the canoes, to be conveyed to the village and devoured, while George and a party of his men corresponding to the number of the murdered whites, attired themselves in the European clothes, and embarking in the boats, proceeded down the river to join the ship; which they too successfully effected before any tidings had reached those on board respecting the bloody affair.

Here another dreadful scene of carnage ensued. The villagers, who, faithful to their chief's orders, had been some time in the ship, immediately began an indiscriminate slaughter of all those on board, in which they were instantly joined by George and his party, yet reeking with the blood of the hapless captain and his boat's crews! Terror and dismay seized all on board, and of the whole crew and passengers only four escaped! These were: Mrs. Marley, wife of a publican of that name at Port Jackson, with her child; Miss Broughton, daughter of the acting deputy commissary-general at Port Jackson; and the cabin-boy, whose name was George, and who had behaved with much kindness to the New Zealand chief during the

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voyage from New South Wales. Even these were forced to conceal themselves during the sanguinary scene, and were spared the next morning when discovered, the fury of the savages having by that time in a great measure subsided.

During the hurry of the slaughter six or seven seamen took refuge in the maintop, whither the murderers did not choose to pursue them; and they also might have been spared, were it not for the following circumstance. Tippahee, a chief from the Bay of Islands, who had been to Port Jackson twice, and was friendly toward Europeans, happened to put into Wangeroa on a fishing party while the dreadful tragedy was acting. The sailors, immediately recognising him, besought him to save them by taking them on board of his canoes, to which he consented, desiring them to leap overboard and make the best of their way to him. In attempting this, however, some of them were overtaken and destroyed by the Wangeroans, while those who succeeded in gaining the canoes shared the same fate, Tippahee not being powerful enough to defend them from the fury of their enemies.

But the most horrible part of this scene was yet to be performed, a scene at which humanity must shudder—namely, the dissecting, baking, and devouring of our unfortunate countrymen;

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seventy human bodies were about to glut the horrible appetites of cannibals. As the description of the scene would only disgust the reader, I will spare his feelings, and drop the painful subject.

On the day after the massacre all the gunpowder was got on deck for partition among the natives, some of whom went on shore with their allotments; while others, less prudent, remained on board, brooding over and rejoicing at the complete success of their bloody operations, which put them in possession of so great a quantity of that which they prized above all other things. Among the latter was a chief who had possessed himself of a musket, and pleased with his acquisition, was carelessly snapping it, to ascertain, as may be supposed, the goodness of the lock; but happening to repeat the experiment over a quantity of loose gunpowder, it ignited, and communicating with some that was lying on the deck, exploded, destroying several of the natives then on board. By this means the ship took fire, and was quickly burnt to the water's edge.

Mr. Berry, then lying in the Bay of Islands, on board the *City of Edinbro'*, hearing of the melancholy occurrence, and understanding that four people had survived the massacre, in the most philanthropic manner succeeded in ran-

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soming them from the savages, and restored them all to their friends; except Mrs. Morley, who died at Lima.

Various accounts of this horrid affair have appeared, all more or less incorrect. The present may be depended upon as the most accurate yet published, having been obtained from information communicated to me by a native, who visited the scene of action a few days after it had happened. The interpreter employed for this purpose had been living there for four or five years, and, from my own knowledge of the language, could not, had he been so inclined, impose on me.

12*th.*—At an early hour this morning we discharged the guns, which had been loaded for some time, and were damp, in consequence of the almost constant rains that prevailed since our arrival here. The noise of the cannon produced great consternation on shore among the natives at a distance from the ship, who supposed that we had commenced hostilities against them, and were then actually employed in destroying their countrymen. They flocked from all parts adjoining the bay to ascertain the cause of our firing.

Among other spectators was a female orator and priestess, of the highest rank and consideration among these people, called Vancathai.

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This lady was regarded by her countrymen as more than mortal, and was supposed by them to have a powerful influence with the deity who presides over all departed souls in the other world. She was also supposed to have the power of *magotoo* (or bewitching her countrymen to death) when she pleased. In all expeditions against the enemy, she was consulted as to the probable result; from her they learnt the most propitious day for sailing, and the day and hour most agreeable to the deity that his people should give battle. Of course this soothsayer possessed the most unlimited control over the minds of her blind votaries, and her auguries of the fate of a campaign not unfrequently tended to verify themselves, by inspiring diffidence or confidence, as it might be her inclination or interest to forward or defeat the objects of the enterprize.

This priestess is said to be friendly to Europeans, and exhibits a pretty sure proof of her attachment by always choosing a husband from among them; her votaries deeming her goddess-ship too sacred for any intercourse of this nature to be permitted with her august person by ordinary or unsanctified individuals of her own nation.

This lady boldly put off from shore, and entering the ship, demanded to see *Peter*. I immediately made my appearance, when she

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inquired the cause of the guns being discharged, which I explained to her entire satisfaction. Being a person of supreme dignity in the country, from her sacred character, as well as noble by birth, it was necessary that I should testify my veneration for so august a personage, in order to instil into the minds of the New Zealanders a just notion of the respect I entertained for their customs, religious as well as civil.

It may not be amiss perhaps to observe, that a strict regard to this line of conduct toward these islanders is the most effectual mode of conciliating their esteem: it serves this end more powerfully than bestowing the most costly presents. The one excites their cupidity, and ensures their friendship only in proportion to the amount of your gifts, and their expectation of more; while the other insensibly gains their affections, and at a cheap and easy rate secures a place in their best regards. Indeed, it is much to be feared that to a deviation from this line of conduct may be traced many of those disasters which have befallen navigators.

I accordingly invited her highness into the cuddy, where she seated herself in an arm-chair, with a degree of majesty, and in a manner so unembarrassed, as plainly evinced that she was conscious of her own dignity.

This priestess presented a noble figure. She

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appeared to be of a middle age; her complexion brunette, with sparkling black eyes; and her jet black hair, which was of a considerable length, gently flowed in ringlets over her shoulders, waving gracefully in the air as she walked. She was attired in the state robes of her country, and conveyed to the mind a forcible idea of savage royalty.

She had not been long seated before she remarked that the day was rather cold, and demanded if there was any rum on board, and if so, requested that some might be produced and given her. I told her that we had some, and ordered a decanter of brandy to be placed before her. After significantly eyeing it for some time, and not liking the colour, she observed, "this is not rum: I have never seen such as this before; let me have such rum as the whalers have on board."—With this request I immediately complied: she filled a tumbler nearly, and without hesitation quaffed it to the bottom. She then called for a segar, and having smoked a little, soon became very talkative.

The person who mostly attracted her notice was an elderly gentleman named Richardson, the surgeon's assistant. She inquired of me who he was. I made answer that he was our doctor and priest. With this information she seemed much pleased, saying that she herself was a

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priestess and physician; and added, "Will not my brother salute me according to the custom of New Zealand?" that is, gently to incline the head and touch noses. On the lady's request being communicated to Mr. Richardson, he with much gallantry complied; but, unfortunately, on stooping his wig fell off, and exhibited a huge bald pate. It is more easy to conceive than express her highness's alarm and terror at this preternatural mode of salutation, for she verily believed that he had taken of his scalp by the aid of magic. She screamed most dreadfully, having for the first time seen a real proof of that skill in the black art, which she pretended that she was possessed of. All her female attendants joined in yelling most piteously on witnessing this phenomenon, and scampered with their mistress as speedily as they could out of the cuddy, screaming out in the native tongue, "a witch! a wizard! an enchanter!"

During the alarm Mr. Richardson recovered his wig, and placed it on his head as before, to the no small astonishment of some of them who ventured to peep slily at him during the process.

After much trouble I succeeded in allaying the fears of her highness and suite, who once more ventured to sit down; not however without casting many a terrified glance at our priest and doctor, whom she did not require to salute her

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a second time. She with much anxiety inquired if it was not by the aid of magic that he had disencumbered himself of his hair, and wished to know if he could with equal facility take off his head, which I did not altogether deny. This intelligence caused her to eye our doctor with a degree of profound reverence, and she requested I would inform her how many evil spirits he had influence over, and if he could also shake the hair and skin from the back part as from the front of his head. I replied, that with regard to the number of spirits over which he had control it was out of my power to inform her truly; but as regarded his hair, I assured her he could dismember himself from head to foot with the greatest facility.

During our conversation, one of the nymphs attending on the priestess, a girl of about fourteen years, slily approached Mr. Richardson, and mistaking a tuft of his natural hair for its moveable substitute, determined, by a good pull, to ascertain if the virtue lay in the hair or in its owner; but the hair holding fast, she was compelled to make a precipitate retreat, lest the magician should metamorphose her into a hog, those people believing in transmigration. This incident, no doubt, tended to confirm their belief in our priest's power, and caused a hearty laugh at the expense of the female casuist.

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Before her departure, the priestess informed me that her husband had, about two months ago, left her to visit his parents in England, and requested that I would oblige her with one of my officers to supply his place; to which I jocularly answered that our Doctor was entirely at her service. But, whether it was that she dreaded his superior power, and therefore despaired of maintaining a proper influence over so mighty a magician, or that she fancied he was too old, I cannot say; but she would not hearken to my proposal of such a substitute, and pointed to a youth of about eighteen, the son of the governor of Valparaiso, whom I had taken on the voyage, his father having placed him under my charge while in South America. She said that she loved him greatly, and would thank me for him. I informed her that I could not comply with her request, he being a great chief's son, and could not be left in New Zealand. She then took her leave, saying she would come on board again the following morning.

Towards evening a boat returned, in which was Mr. Russell, who had been employed in making a survey of the bay.

13*th*.—We were engaged the greater part of this day in embarking our fire-wood, the weather being damp and dismal as usual.

About noon Vancathai, the priestess, again

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visited us, accompanied by the late Boo Marray's two sons, who came to see Brian Boroo. Some other chiefs also were in the train of the priestess. They all embraced Brian Boroo tenderly, and lamented with tears the affair which had severed the friendship of the two families, and compelled them to seek blood for blood from the friends of Boroo.

Boo Marray's sons related the account of their father's death in nearly the following words. They commenced by asking me if I recollected, when laying at the Thames, loading the *St. Patrick*, about fifteen months ago, that I had applied to their father, who was then going round to the Bay of Islands, to bring with him two thousand men to cut spars for me, as the Thames people were rather slow in performing the work. I replied, that I recollected the circumstance perfectly well, and that I had promised their father, if he succeeded in loading me in two months, a present of five muskets and two barrels of gunpowder.

They then resumed. Boo Marray, with upwards of two thousand men all armed, set out for the Thames to cut the spars, but on their arrival found I had sailed for this port. The party then proceeded up the river in their canoes as far as it was navigable, from whence they crossed to the Boroo country by land,

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where they were hospitably received, and had gifts presented to them. Their father requested of the Boroo tribe to assist him in an invasion he then meditated upon the country of Wyecatto; but the Boroos declined, and begged of him to return peaceably to his own district; to which he agreed, and sailed down the river to the Barrier Islands, the place of general rendezvous for his forces. Here one of his chiefs, named Thowy, declared that he would not return home without killing some person, as he longed for a meal of human flesh. Thowy proceeded from thence to the main, where a party, anticipating his intention, lay in ambush, and cut him off with all his warriors.

Boo Marray waited several days for the chief's return, but finding he did not appear, concluded that some accident had happened, and went in search of him. On proceeding up a narrow creek in his canoe, the banks of which were very steep, a sudden fire of musketry was opened on him, accompanied by a thick shower of spears and stones from a party in ambuscade. Before Boo Marray's people could reach an eligible spot for landing they were nearly all killed: only himself, his eldest son, and a few others effected a landing. Boo Marray was shot through the thigh bone and fell upon one knee, when the enemy came in a body and attacked

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him. He shot two of them with his double-barrelled gun; but before he could reload was despatched by them, and his head cut off.

Thus fell Boo Marray, by an unexpected assault from an enemy he could only discern from the deadly and sudden effects of their guns and spears. His enemies preserved his head, but devoured his body, as well as that of his eldest son, who died gallantly fighting by his father's side.

The two sons of Boo Marray, from whom I had this relation of the skirmish in which their father lost his life, escaping from the field of action, fled to the coast, where they were taken prisoners. One of them was desperately wounded in three places by a boat-axe, two wounds on the right arm, and one on the back. They were then sold as slaves or *kokeys* in the interior of the country, from which degraded situation Brian's father released them soon after, and supplied them with a canoe and provisions to enable them to return home, begging of them not to forget his kindness if his son should arrive in their harbour.

Brian admitted the probability of this story, but could by no means be induced to land amongst them.

While I was engaged on deck listening to the narrative of Boo Marray's sons, the draughtsman and officers were busily engaged in the gun-

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room, concerting a plan to surprise and astonish further the New Zealand priestess with the transmigratory powers of the surgeon's assistant. With this view they prevailed on him to submit the bald part of his head to the draughtsman's art, who in a short time metamorphosed it in such a way, that had he been in ancient Greece or Rome during the sway of Pagan superstition, he might have obtained worshippers as the god Janus, who had in pity to men condescended to pay them a visit. His head presented the perfect appearance of an additional phiz, most hideously pourtrayed on the bald part of the cranium.

Vancathai, with her numerous female friends and attendants, being seated in the cuddy, begged as an especial favour that I would send for the magician, and prevail on him to shake off the hair and skin from his head as he had done yesterday. She stated, as her reason for this request, that those to whom she had mentioned the circumstance would not believe that so wonderful a thing could be done by any man, and that she had brought the most incredulous with her to-day, that they might be eye-witnesses of the miracle. Mr. Richardson with much politeness consented to a repetition of it, and approaching her highness, made a most graceful bow, and in a moment cast off his arti-

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ficial hair, when instead of an inoffensive bald pate, behold a horrible double face met the eyes of the astonished priestess and her companions.

Dreadful indeed was the confusion which immediately succeeded this display of even super-magical power. The cuddy was in a moment cleared of the visitants, and the magician left in peaceable possession of the apartment. Infidelity itself was now convinced of his magical powers, and there was not a native unbeliever in the ship.

Mr. Richardson now replaced his wig, and exerted himself to tranquillize those whom he had so much alarmed. Various were their conjectures respecting this supposed wonderful man, until I undeceived them in the evening; when their admiration of our ingenuity was only equalled by their groundless alarms at the effect of it. Mr. Richardson, however, had good cause to regret his willingness to entertain the swarthy strangers, for during our stay here they never ceased to tease and perplex him in a thousand different ways, especially by pulling off his hat and wig.

14*th*.—This morning I expected the ship would have been ready for sea, having completed the supply of fire-wood and water; but in this I was mistaken, for, through the negligence of the carpenter, four of the dead eyes in

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the lower rigging that had been broken by the straining of the ship during the tempestuous weather which we experienced in the passage from Port Jackson, were not yet repaired.

Wishing to make my further stay here as short as possible, I ordered a survey of the damage reported by the carpenter to be instituted by the officers, and the result made known to me; which was, that it would be dangerous to put to sea in our present state. A considerable time would necessarily be employed in completing the repairs, as hard wood was to be procured from the forests, and the iron straps to bind the blocks could not be completed by the smith for several days. I mentioned this impediment to a Mr. Anson, residing in the Bay of Islands: who informed me that in 1823 the ship *Brampton*, of London, missed stays in working out of the Bay during a gale of wind from the northward, and running on shore, became a total wreck; that he purchased a part of the wreck, and could supply me with as many oaken dead eyes, ready strapped with iron, as I might require. I joyfully closed with his offer, fearing that, to add to our difficulties, the blacksmith might not be able to raise sufficient heat with his small bellows to complete such heavy work: therefore to obviate further inconvenience in this respect, I not only furnished myself with as many as I needed

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for immediate use, but also with a few to spare.

16*th*.—Found it very tedious to get the old chain-plates removed, in consequence of the bolts having been driven and forelocked prior to the adoption of the new system of waterways being put on the ship; and it being impracticable to drift or take the forelocks out of the bolts, I ordered the heads to be cut off, and new holes bored lower down the side.

19*th*.—The carpenter having completed the chain-plates, the fore-rigging was set up, and all made ready for sea. We were, however, prevented from sailing by a most violent storm which ushered in the day. It blew up the harbour with such violence, that at night we were obliged to wear out cable and bring both anchors ahead.

The officer formerly on board had paid so little attention to the ship's stowage, that when ready for sea she drew twelve or fourteen inches of water more forward than aft, which prevented her from sailing, steering, or staying so well as I wished. I attributed this to the dead weight of two bow guns weighing 30 cwt., four anchors of 12 cwt. each, two cabbooses, the one of iron the other of wood, bricks and mortar weighing at least 20 cwt., and all this independent of the usual dead weight in the fore part

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of the ship. The fore peak was also filled with kintledge, of which I had upwards of six tons on deck. Of the latter I was determined to rid myself, and was about to throw it overboard, not having a convenient place to stow it and it impeded the ship's way; but before I absolutely did so, whereby it could be of no use to any person, and the distance being great from any place where similar ballast could be obtained, I sent to the Missionaries on shore, acquainting them that I had a quantity of kintledge for sale, and would dispose of it upon reasonable terms; who agreed to take it from me at its prime cost in England. These terms were not very advantageous, but preferable to throwing it into the bay, which would occasion inequalities in the bottom, against which cables might rub and be injured, so I deemed it prudent to let them have it on their own terms.

22d.—Throughout yesterday the wind was variable, with constant rain. The crew were employed as necessary in the between-decks.

Succeeded this morning in unmooring the ship, after much trouble and fatigue. The weather being very unsettled, and wind variable, with a heavy sea setting into the harbour, I did not deem it prudent to sail this day.

23d.—The day commenced with moderate breezes and cloudy weather. At 8 A.M. we

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made the signal for sailing, and began to weigh the second anchor, which we found very difficult, it having got buried in the mud in the late stormy weather. A new eight-inch messenger broke twice before we could trip the anchor. We had but just succeeded in getting the anchor off the ground, when it commenced blowing a gale of wind on shore; we were therefore obliged to let it go again, or be stranded before sail could be set. In this state we remained during the day.

Martin Bushart had come along with me under the most solemn assurances of being relanded at Tucopia, after I had obtained a correct account (as far as possible) of the ships lost at Mannicolo. The cause of my not putting on shore while in the *St. Patrick* has already been explained in a former part of my journal. While I remained at Calcutta, his continual cry was to return to the island on which he had spent nearly thirteen years; nor would he sign the ship's articles there, alleging as his reason, that if he did so he should become one of the ship's company, and should any thing befal me during the voyage, the person who succeeded to the command might compel him to return to India, where he had no friends or prospects; and that as he was addicted to the use of spirituous liquors, which injured his con-

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stitution, he ought not to live in places where they could be procured.

I was thoroughly acquainted with the value of this man's services, and that the expedition could not be prosecuted with success without him, and therefore indulged him in many respects to conciliate his friendship, which I am confident I gained. Indeed, he displayed a striking proof of his attachment to my person at Van Diemen's Land; for when I was imprisoned there he quitted the ship to reside on shore, declaring that he would never more return to her without me, unless forcibly compelled.

Martin Bushart came to me this evening, saying, "Captain Dillon, you have proved a friend to me: we were together under sentence of death among the Feejee men, when fourteen of our companions were killed and eaten by them; I hope you do not forget that." I replied, "That fatal day has been impressed too indelibly on my memory to be so easily forgotten, Martin."—"Then, Sir," resumed he, "I have a favour to ask of you: I have attached myself to a New Zealand girl, who is now my wife according to the laws of her country, and she wishes to accompany me to Tucopia: I hope you will permit her." To this I had no objection, as I wished to take a

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few females and children to Mannicolo, if it could be effected by fair means, for the following reasons:

I have often conversed with savages, who informed me that when first they beheld Europeans, they supposed them to have descended from the clouds; nor could they imagine what our business was in their country, unless to carry off their provisions, wives, and children, as slaves: this idea being grounded on the universal practice in those islands of men carrying off the women and children of their enemies in their war expeditions; whilst, on the contrary, when they pay a friendly visit to a neighbouring island, or to a strange country, their wives and children usually accompanied them.

I have visited the most ferocious tribes in the South Seas, and never failed of becoming friendly with them.

Curiosity (that all-powerful passion in the female breast, whether in the wilds of a savage country, or in the elegant drawing-room of refined and civilized Europe) never fails to induce the women on shore to approach the ship, where, seeing some of their own sex on board, they presently commence making friendly signals to them. The ladies on shore having thus established a pantomimic acquaintance with

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those on board, feel inclined to become more intimate with the strangers, and approach the sides of the ship, where, a few small presents being made to them, and being otherwise kindly treated, away they post to land with the glad tidings, exhibiting the tokens of friendship. More of them then put off in the expectation of meeting with similar treatment, and a judicious distribution of beads, showy ribbons, scissors, looking-glasses, &c., never fails to ensure a hospitable reception from them. Thus, mutual confidence being established by means of the women, it rests with the visitors to act with that prudence and caution which will not fail of making it permanent.

Brian Boroo requested me to land him at the river Thames, saying he would bring down a plentiful supply of fresh provisions and vegetables, with some spars, of which we stood much in need. I told him that it was my intention to proceed there for those supplies, as there was but little to be procured at this place; so many ships having visited the bay of late, they had cleared the adjacent country of all the spare provisions. He then told me that there were two young women on board who had relatives living at the Thames, and desired much to see them, and that if I would allow them to go round in the ship, they would be extremely

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thankful. To this I assented, as I considered they would serve as hostages for the safety of my people, while on shore cutting the spars we required; and Brian made them acquainted with the result of his application on their behalf, with which they seemed highly pleased.

A native chief named Thenana, who had accompanied me in the *Active* from this island in 1814, teased me sadly to be allowed to go in the ship. I told him that he was too old, and would die at Calcutta; but his reply was, "I will go; I have plenty of muskets and powder, and only want a barrel of musket-balls, which having obtained, I will return by the first ship to Port Jackson, from whence Mr. Marsden will send me home." This was a ready calculation for an untutored savage: he traced in idea his departure from hence, his arrival in Bengal and the total fulfilment of his desires, thence to Port Jackson, and back to his native country, all in the space of five minutes, depending on Providence for the realization of this fairy dream.

I told him that I would give him an answer in the morning, as I should most likely dream on the subject in the night: a course the most likely to please him, as these people place implicit reliance on dreams, and I had resolved, too,

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by that means to rid myself of his importunities.

24th.—At an early hour this morning the ship was surrounded by several canoes, having on board many chiefs of consequence, who had received notice of our intention to depart, and had come with the double purpose of bidding us farewell and receiving presents. The friends of those natives who were to sail with us to the Thames and to Mannicolo, came on board at an early hour. Each of them demanded something from me as presents for their friends and relatives, urging that this was the general custom with captains who took any of their people with them to assist in whaling, sealing, or otherwise. I observed that no benefit had been yet derived from their services, and that most likely they would run away from the ship after receiving an advance. They admitted that such tricks had not unfrequently been played, and generally to strange captains, whom they never expected to see in their harbour any more; but that they could not think of treating me thus, for I was their countryman, and came every year to see them, and always behaved well to such of their friends as accompanied me to foreign parts. Upon this I made each person who was to accompany me a present.

Thenana, the old man to whom I was this

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morning to give an answer, was very importunate to know if I had dreamt last night. I informed him I had. He then was in pain to learn the purport of my dream, which, after I had adjusted my face to a most rueful length, thereby affording some idea as to the result, I delivered as follows:—"I dreamt last night that we were at Calcutta, and that both you and I died there. Now, should I die, which of course I shall since I dreamt so, what will become of you? no person there knows you, and it will be out of your power to return to New Zealand."

He did not much admire my interpretation of the dream, and applied to Vancathai, the priestess, and resolver of such mysteries, for her opinion on the subject. Vancathai, true to the practice of her profession, observing that I did not wish to take him, gave an appropriate explanation of the fatal consequences likely to result from a contumacious neglect of divine warning. Poor Thenana had therefore nothing to do but submit to his hard fate, and thus I quietly got rid of his solicitations; whereas had I at first bluntly refused to take him, he would have sought an opportunity to revenge himself, even ten years afterwards.

We now began to heave up the anchor. The priestess mounting the capstern, loudly implored

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the gods of New Zealand to grant us a fair breeze and prosperous voyage, and that they would preserve us in all places and at all times from encountering the fatal oven!

At 9 A.M., the anchor being weighed and all sails set, with a light breeze approaching to a calm, the canoes went on shore. About an hour afterwards I heard a dreadful noise upon deck, and went out from my cabin to ascertain the cause. There I found Vancathai, the priestess, whom I supposed to have gone on shore, weeping bitterly. On inquiring into the cause, I learnt that for some time back an attachment had been formed between her and the boatswain, and that on this occasion, having gone down into his cabin to take a parting glass, she had remained on board till after the departure of her countrymen. Having been left below by the boatswain, who had to attend on deck, she helped herself to the liquor too freely, and quite overcome, fell asleep. The boatswain in the hurry of duty forgot her, and the first intimation of her being on board was the dreadful yelling she set up, when on awaking she found us under weigh, and at a distance of about three or four miles from the shore. She begged of me to get her on shore in the ship's boat, which I immediately ordered out for the purpose: for this she expressed herself extremely grate-

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ful, and promised never again to drink rum.

The names of the natives who joined us to proceed to the Thames were Emooca and Perry-cowy, two females; the others were Martin Bushart's wife, Tetorey; the Marquis of Wye-mattee; Moyhanger, alias King Charley; Robert Tytler, a New Zealand doctor; Phelim O'Rourke, one of the Marquis's confidential friends; and Murtoch O'Brien, son to King Charley.

It is necessary to remark, that the New Zealanders are very fond of being called by European names, as they suppose it ensures them a better reception on board ships. With this view the above persons applied to be named after Europeans, and the names I have given them they will retain during life.

At noon the latitude observed was 35° S., when Cape Brett bore E.S.E. four miles. We stood along the shore toward the Thames, and at 8 P.M. the Poor Knights bore W.N.W. three or four leagues.

While lying in the Bay of Islands, I was informed by the missionaries residing there that Captain Dumont D'Urville, commander of the French sloop of war *l'Astrolabe*, had been there making a survey of the coast, and had sailed about two months for the Thames and

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Friendly Islands. I had received instructions from the Bengal Government to meet with, if possible, and communicate to him all the intelligence I could, respecting the expedition and the fate of the Count de la Pérouse.

25.—We were driven considerably to leeward during the night. At 8 A.M. the largest of the Barrier Islands bore S.E.$\frac{3}{4}$S.

As the wind was now, I considered that entering the Thames would be attended with much loss of time, and communicated this my opinion to Prince Brian Boroo, who implored me most piteously to land him: that he was now in sight of his country, and if he departed from it, might perhaps never see it again. He stated that, should he delay his return two or three years, he would, in all probability, find his father, brothers, sisters, and friends, had been murdered or carried off by the enemy; and he therefore wished to land and share their fate, whatever it might be, as he had no desire whatever to survive them. He further observed, that his presence would encourage his friends, and the arms which he had procured in India would be of the greatest service in repelling the enemy. The Marquis and Moyhanger also importuned me on behalf of this fine young man, who is now nearly civilized, and might by his conduct and advice

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release his countrymen in some degree from that darkness in which they are plunged.

All the New Zealanders who joined the ship at the Bay of Islands were very sea-sick: so much so, that they would have made any sacrifice to be put on shore from the vessel. Nay, they were willing to be landed, although in an enemy's country, and trusted to Brian's mercy to spare their lives. I felt much for poor Brian and the others, and stood in for the river.

The season being now far advanced, I was particularly anxious to reach the Mannicolos before the north-west monsoon prevailed in those seas. At 9 o'clock I found it impossible to get close in with the land with the wind in its present quarter; in justice to my employers therefore I could not lose more time and was obliged to bear away. On observing the ship's stern point to his beloved land, poor Brian wept bitterly, as did also his friend Morgan McMurragh. I did all that was in my power to console them, stating that I was going to Tongataboo, the capital of the Friendly Islands, where there were several whalers fishing at this season of the year, and would sail from thence for the New Zealand fishery in summer, which was now fast approaching, and I promised that

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I would prevail on the captain of the first whaler I fell in with to take them on board and return them to their native land. With these assurances they were pacified, as they knew how common a thing it is for above fourteen sail of whalers to be in the Bay of Islands during the months of December and January every year. During the winter they fish off the Friendly, Feejee, and Navigator's Islands, and return in summer to whale off New Zealand, where they complete their cargo, take in supplies of hogs, potatoes, fish, wood, and water, and refit their rigging and ships.

Each officer and seaman on board the whalers has his wife at the Bay of Islands, who on his return from the fishery joins him, and remains with him on board till the ship's departure. It often happens that these women accompany their husbands to the fishing station, as was the case with the daughter of Boo Marray, who was absent when I first anchored in the Bay.

I now determined to sail for Tongataboo, in the hope of meeting with Mons. D'Urville, and likewise to take in fresh supplies of poultry, hogs, &c.

In la Pérouse's last letter to the French minister of marine, which I here copy, he says that he intends touching at the Friendly Islands; I might therefore expect to obtain some informa-

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tion relative to him in the course of a visit to that quarter.

From M. de la Pérouse, dated Botany Bay, Feb. 7th 1788.

Sir:—I shall run up to the Friendly Islands, and obey all my instructions relative to the southern part of New Caledonia, the island of Santa Cruz de Mendana, the southern coast of La Terra des Arsacides of Surville, and the Louisiade of Bougainville, examining at the same time whether this last is, or is not, a part of New Guinea.

About the end of July 1788, I shall pass between New Guinea and New Holland, by another strait than that called Endeavour Strait, if any can be found.

During the month of September and part of October I shall visit the gulph of Carpentaria, and all the western coast of New Holland as far as Van Diemen's Land, but so that I may be able to get to the northward soon enough to arrive in the Isle of France about the beginning of December 1788.

At half past five this evening New Zealand was yet in sight. The New Zealanders mounted on the poop, and prayed to their deity to protect them, and grant that they might be enabled to revisit their native shores, of which they were now about to lose sight.

I shipped in the Bay of Islands a man named John Bumpsted, as a marine, who had been employed by the missionaries there as a farmer for three or four years. I also found an American of half-caste, who said his mother was an Indian squaw.

This poor fellow had lived with Johnston the

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sawyer, who stated that he was an idiot, and his name John Downey; that he had arrived at New Zealand in an American whaler, where he was put on shore by the captain and officers as useless. He set out by land to find his way home to Boston in America, supposing himself to be then on the continent, and the New Zealanders to be American Indians of a different nation from that to which his mother belonged. He travelled for a full month through the forests of New Zealand, when he returned to the coast half-starved and naked, not being able to reach Boston, and the sawyer hospitably admitted him under his roof, where he had lived for the last five months.

Johnston complained of poverty, and begged of me to take the poor fellow on board, for that he should be obliged shortly to turn the wretched idiot out of doors, who would perish from the want of food.

I asked Johnston if the missionaries, who are supported in a luxurious style by charitable donations, would suffer this miserable being to starve. He replied, that they never allowed people from the ships to visit them; and that they represented all their countrymen (themselves of course excepted) as sinners and bad men, whenever the natives inquired the reason of their not behaving with sociability towards

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other classes of Christians besides their own missionary brethren.

I told Johnston that it was my intention to touch at Tongataboo, where provisions were plentiful, and the inhabitants humane, hospitable, and generous in the highest degree to all foreigners who reside on shore, and that I had no objection to take him there. The sawyer made my reply known to the unfortunate idiot, who gladly received the news, and embarked as a passenger for that place.

The natural productions of New Zealand, most in demand by the Europeans, are flax and spars. Since its discovery, hogs, potatoes, and all manner of garden vegetables and esculent roots, have been introduced, and now abound, forming an abundant and opportune supply for ships touching there during the whaling seasons. There are, however, two species of potatoes indigenous to the soil, which with the fern-root constitute the principal article of their food. The sea contiguous to the shores affords an abundant supply of excellent fish, which the natives catch and dry during the summer months, and lay up as a winter store. They have also a breed of dogs peculiar to the island, and much resembling the Pariah dog of India, which is considered as furnishing a most delicate dish. They manufacture a kind of cloth

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from the flax plant, with which, and their cloaks and mats, they defend themselves from the inclemencies of the winter. Their mats and cloaks are made in divers shapes and fashions, with ornamented borders of dark colour.

From the knowledge I have acquired of the New Zealand language, I succeeded in obtaining a very full account of their civil and religious customs, but want of time and space prevents me from giving any details in this place. I intend, however, to give a full description of them on a future day.

While lying at the Thames in the *St. Patrick* in 1826, the Bay of Islanders, under command of Shanghi, suddenly attacked a party of the Kayaparas, slew all the men, and made captive the women and children. With respect to their being cannibals no doubt can be entertained, for on that occasion an opportunity was afforded me of ascertaining the revolting fact.

After the battle between the Bay of Islanders and the Kayaparas I proceeded for the Bay of Islands, where King George had arrived before me in his canoe. He paid me a visit, and I promised to make him a present before I sailed. I was surprised by seeing my friend alongside early next morning demanding his present, and I replied that I was not going to sail yet. He answered, that as he was going to the west

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part of the island and would not return till I should have sailed. I was anxious to know his business, which he informed me was to carry presents of human flesh to his friends there, whom the Kayaparas had offended, and whose flesh was in the canoe. I demanded to see it, when he shewed me several calibashes filled with the shocking viand, baked in a South-sea oven to preserve it from putrefaction. I felt my blood curdle at the sight; so hastening to give George his present, I left him to proceed on his horrid mission.

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CHAPTER VII.

OCCURRENCES FROM NEW ZEALAND TO TONGA, USUALLY CALLED TONGATABOO, WITH REMARKS ON WHAT HAPPENED AT THAT PLACE.

3d August 1827.—One of those accidents occurred to which a seafaring life is so liable, and which often prove fatal. At an early hour this morning I was awoke by the smell and smoke of something burning. On getting up, I found this arose from a small piece of canvas which had caught fire in my cabin. I immediately threw over it the contents of the wash-hand basin, and thus extinguished it. But, being somewhat alarmed by the quantity of smoke, I adopted the precaution of causing a quantity of gunpowder (a half-barrel and three empty casks) in the adjoining cabin to be removed. The accident arose from the guard stationed to watch the lights having fallen asleep, and the candlestick having been overturned by the motion of the vessel.

11*th*.—Nothing more worthy of note occurred since our leaving New Zealand until the evening of the 9th, when a Marquesa man, named Peter, attended muster armed with a club,

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which was instantly taken from him. On inquiring into the cause of this conduct, I learnt that for some days past the man had exhibited symptoms of derangement; and therefore, in order to prevent him from doing mischief, I ordered him to be put in irons: I released the poor maniac yesterday evening, on ascertaining that his aberration of intellect arose from melancholy, and was not accompanied with violence.

12*th*.—Light variable airs throughout. At 8 A.M. saw the island Eawa, or Middleburg, bearing S.W. ½ S., distance eleven or twelve leagues: all sail set standing for it. Latitude at noon 21° 9′ S.; longitude 174° 2′ W. At 4 P.M. the extremes of Eawa bore from S.W.½W. to W. by S.½S.

At 7 P.M. light variable airs from the eastward. Not wishing to approach the land before daylight, I ordered the small sails to be handed, and the ship to be hauled to the wind on the starboard tack, and thus we spent the night beating to windward.

In the forenoon of this day a shark of the blue species was caught, and on being opened was found to contain twenty-five young, all alive, and each about the size of an ordinary haddock. Neither the New Zealanders nor any other of the South Sea Islanders would

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taste of it, although the brown shark is much relished by them generally.

13th. - Light airs from the eastward. At 6 A.M. could distinctly perceive the north point of Eawa bearing W. by N.; made all sail and stood for it.

Some four or five years ago the natives of this island, to the number of about ten or twelve, were admitted on the decks of the *Supply* whaler, then standing off and on under easy sail, trading, and waiting for a boat to return from the shore. Suddenly they armed themselves with capstern bars, and clubs brought out of their canoes, under pretence of offering them in barter, attacked such of the crew as were on deck, killed the captain's brother (a Mr. Thornton), besides the carpenter of the ship and one seaman, and actually seized the captain and threw him overboard. Fortunately, however, he fell into a whale-boat that was hoisted on the ship's quarter, where he found a telescope, which, with admirable presence of mind, he presented at the natives that were pursuing him, who, supposing it to be a new description of firelock, immediately retreated, and thus the captain's life was preserved. By this time the crew, who were below at dinner, hearing the yells of the savages and the groans of their dying companions, became alarmed for their

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own safety, and seizing each a harpoon or lance, they sallied on deck, where, after having killed some of the murderers, they compelled the rest to seek safety by leaping overboard and swimming to their canoes.

Since that period these islanders have on several occasions enticed the crews of boats, sent there for various purposes from ships lying off and on, to land, when, having been seized on by hundreds of savages, who bound them individually to cocoa-nut trees, one of the prisoners has been despatched to obtain a ransom from the captain for the rest of his men, whom they would by no means release till their demands (in most instances four or five muskets and a couple of barrels of gunpowder) were acceded to, and the ransom actually in their possession.

Having occasion to visit these kidnapping gentry, to procure hogs, yams, &c. and to take in fresh water, I determined to benefit from the experience of others, and not be tricked by them. I therefore caused the guns to be loaded, and the marines daily exercised at their small arms, making them fire three rounds each.

The wind was so light that we approached the shore but slowly, and at noon the north point of the island bore W. and by N. ¾ N. three leagues.

At 1 P.M. the island of Tongataboo was in

sight from the mast-head, bearing W.$\frac{3}{4}$S. As water was my object in touching here, if procurable, I resolved to anchor at Eawa. At 7 P.M. got close to the north point of this island, and stood along its west side to the southward; fired some guns, and hoisted a light as a signal, supposing that some of the natives might venture off, but they did not.

14*th*.—About 8 this morning two canoes, paddled by three men each, came off to the ship, loaded with yams, potatoes, sugar-cane, cocoa-nuts, sea-shells, clubs, spears, &c. for barter, and these were followed by several others freighted similarly, and a brisk trade was quickly commenced with them.

In the second canoe there was an American seaman, who had been left sick on the island about two years before. From this man I learnt that it would be difficult to obtain water here, as the spring which the inhabitants used was two miles inland. This unwelcome news determined me to put into Tongataboo; but the day being far spent, I resolved to keep under easy sail till daylight to-morrow, and then to stand over for Tonga.

The chief of this island sent me a present of a hog and some yams, with an invitation to call and see him at his residence on shore; but not feeling inclined to be bound to a cocoa-nut tree

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for an indefinite period, or till an enormous ransom was exacted for me, I declined the honour of the invitation, accepting however of his presents, and sending him in return a pistol, bayonet, and some articles of cutlery.

At sunset the canoes quitted the ship for the shore, having left four of their countrymen on board. Finding I could converse in the language of their neighbours on the Feejees, they declared that they could not think of parting with me so soon; they consequently remained on board all night, and entertained me with various accounts of my old friends at the Feejees since my departure from thence in 1813.

The American informed me that during his residence on the island he had been treated with the greatest kindness by the chief, who had honoured him with his daughter for a wife. He also stated that, understanding how to repair iron-work, he was much esteemed by the natives, who found him abundance of employment, and paid him most handsomely in the produce of the country for his labour in repairing their fire-arms, fish-hooks, &c. Notwithstanding the marked attention and honours, however, which had been conferred upon him by the prince, he was desirous of taking a passage with me. I inquired if his wife would not

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be uneasy at his abandoning her; he replied that she would, but that he was very desirous to see his friends in America; however, that he would not act ungratefully to her. He then went on shore in one of his father-in-law's boats, for the purpose of bidding her farewell, and after the lapse of an hour or two he returned with his wife, a beautiful young Indian, aged about fourteen years, who appeared much affected at the American's intention of forsaking her. I endeavoured to console the lady, and presented her with a few necklaces of various-coloured glass beads, with which she was exceedingly well pleased, and departed in one of her father's canoes, after having taken an affectionate and tender farewell of her inconstant husband.

The American informed me, that about two months ago he had heard, for two or three successive days, the report of discharges of cannon at Tonga, and supposing that the island was besieged by a European force, his father-in-law and his subjects were much alarmed. Soon after a canoe arrived from Tonga, and brought intelligence that a ship with a white flag had anchored at the island, and that soon after a war had broken out between her crew and the islanders, which had caused the guns to be fired on the inhabitants. In these encounters three of the natives were killed and one of the

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ship's crew, a few days after which the ship had sailed.

From the above account I supposed the ship in question to be the French sloop *Astrolabe.*

15*th.*—We had strong trade winds throughout the day, with fair weather: towards night it commenced raining, and the general appearance of the evening indicated approaching bad weather.

At daylight stood in for Eawa; but in consequence of a fresh breeze that blew, I did not expect any canoes to come off to the ship. However, notwithstanding the roughness of the weather, and the surf beating high, we had several alongside loaded as yesterday. Having discharged them of their cargoes, I caused the four natives who had slept on board last night to return in them, having made each a small present.

At 8½ A.M. bore up with all sail set for Tonga, and at 10½ entered the channel between the main island and the small ones which lay off it. Soon after, shortening sail, I made a signal for a pilot.

On passing the lagoon I fired a gun. There were many of the islanders on the beach, and several canoes paddling off toward the ship, in one of which I observed a white man. I rounded the vessel to, in order to wait for him; but

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such was the violence of the wind and strength of the tide, both opposing his progress, that he could not overtake the *Research*. I then bore away under easy sail, and entered the channel between the fourth and fifth islands from the west point of the lagoon. Their names are Makhaha on the left, and Manooafai on the right hand.

Being at the mast-head myself, I observed the channel to be strewed with sunken dangers, such as coral banks, which certainly must have grown there since the harbour was surveyed by Captain Cook. It was with the greatest difficulty that I at length succeeded in evading these submarine reefs.

After getting out of this dangerous channel, I ran up with a fair wind and anchored in thirteen fathoms and a-half water, off the island Pangimodoo, which bore N.E., distance one mile. The anchor had not been gone more than a few minutes when we were visited by several canoes, each paddled by two, three, or four men. They were filled with the produce of the island, such as yams, sweet potatoes, cocoa-nuts, bananas, sugar-canes, and had also on board one cock and one duck. A brisk exchange was immediately commenced with them for cutlery and glass beads.

In one of these canoes was the white man

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above-mentioned, whom I invited on deck, and found to be one of the crew of the *Port au Prince*, which had been cut off at the Harpie Islands, one of this group, in December 1806: his name was John Singleton. From him I learnt that the French discovery ship *Astrolabe*, Captain Dumont d'Urville, had been nearly wrecked in the channel from which I had just escaped, and had sailed from this port for the Feejees about three months ago. He also said that one of her crew had been murdered here, the circumstances attending which were as follow.

According to his account the *Astrolabe*, on entering the bay, had got aground upon the hidden dangers from which I had just escaped. She remained in this state for eight days, when she was floated off by a high tide and calm, having lost three anchors and two cables, together with her false keel; the ship however was reported to be not in the smallest degree leaky.

After the vessel had been on shore two days, the captain, despairing of getting her off, sent his cash, plate, and valuables to the Wesleyan Missionary station on this island, and shortly afterwards took to the boats, for the purpose of abandoning her. Fortunately, however, he was dissuaded from this premature step; he

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rejoined the ship, and ultimately succeeded, by means of an unusual high flow of tide, as just stated, in rescuing her from her perilous situation. The Missionaries and English sailors resident here bestow the highest encomiums on Monsieur Jacquenot, the first lieutenant, for his indefatigable and seamanlike exertions, and attribute the salvation of the ship to him.

It is here necessary to observe, that the chiefs of these islands pride themselves much on having Europeans resident among them; a feeling that gave rise to the following unfortunate affray:—The morning on which the ship was about to sail, two of the crew, unperceived by the sentinels, had leaped from the side into a large canoe, where they were concealed by the natives. The canoe immediately pulled for the shore, and shortly after a boat, with eight or ten men and an officer, put off for Pangimodoo to procure sand; but the canoe reached the shore first. The chief of this canoe having acquainted those on shore that he had two Europeans with him, the other chiefs became jealous, and said, "We must have some white men to live with us as well as you." The ship's boat had by this time reached the land, and the men on board being unarmed, were seized by the natives and taken on shore.

Two armed boats were sent from the ship to

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their assistance; but before they could reach the island the natives conveyed their captives up the country, whither they were pursued; the islanders sallying from the woods, and retreating occasionally. Several houses were set on fire by the assailants, and two of the islanders wounded, who died that night. The corporal of marines was one of the party that landed: he left his companions, and pursued the islanders up a foot-path through a wood, where a native, who lay concealed, struck a bayonet fitted on a stick through his head; he instantly expired, and was picked up by his companions. A midshipman also was wounded in the arm with a musket-ball. The party not succeeding, then returned to the ship.

Captain Dumont d'Urville sent a message on shore that he would get the ship close to the nearest town and cannonade it if his men were not instantly restored. The message was answered by the islanders in the following terms: "Inform the captain that, if he wishes to fight, we are prepared to receive him: if he cannonades us, we will get entrenched." On receipt of this answer the anchor was weighed, and the ship placed in a situation to bring her broadside to bear on the town.*

* It happened to be the sacred town of Ma Fanga, which, being the supposed abode of their deities, and of the souls of their an-

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At this town an incessant fire was kept up for two days without doing any mischief, when the natives became more bold, and sallied from the trenches. One of them, a chief, was soon after killed by an accidental shot, which hit an iron-wood tree, and rebounding from it, struck him. The people of consequence from all parts of the island now assembled; they censured those who had been the cause of the rupture, and succeeded in prevailing on the chiefs who seized the people in the boat to allow them to return before more mischief was done. In consequence, on the third day, those persons were re-embarked, without having received any injury.

It is much to the credit of the Tonga people, that they treated their prisoners in the most hospitable manner while in their power. The two deserters who were the cause of all this disturbance represented to the chief under whose protection they had landed, that if they were sent on board they must pay the forfeit of their lives; no inducement, therefore, could prevail on him to deliver them up, and the ship

cestors and deceased friends, has always from time immemorial been considered neutral ground, and as such respected in their most bloody wars. It is governed by the high-priest of the island, who guards the tombs of the deceased princes, presides at the annual sacrifices, and receives the first-fruits offered at the shrine of their deities.

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sailed without them soon after for the Feejee Islands.

One of the Frenchmen left behind visited the ship this afternoon. I would not admit him on board, on account of his conduct to his former commander.

I was visited this evening by a native named Langhi, an old acquaintance of mine on former voyages. In November 1824, on a voyage from South America in search of sandal-wood, I put in here in command of my own ship, the *Calder* of Calcutta, burden 250 tons, mounting sixteen guns, when this man, and a native of the Feejees named Thaki, joined me as interpreters. We proceeded from hence to the Feejees, New Hebrides, New Zealand, and Port Jackson, where I left Langhi and Thaki at a friend's house, to await my return from South America, whither I was then bound. I sailed from Sydney on the 16th of March 1825 for Valparaiso, and on the May following the *Calder* had the misfortune to be wrecked. My next ship, the *St. Patrick*, was then in the harbour, and had just returned from New Zealand with a cargo of spars, having providentially weathered the fury of the gale. I sailed in her from Valparaiso in October 1825, bound to New Zealand and Calcutta.

On my way I put in at Otaheite in November,

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where I found Langhi and Thaki, who informed me that Port Jackson was too cold for them, and afforded neither cocoa-nuts nor yams; they therefore came to Otaheite with a Captain Henry, who resided there. That finding the Otaheitans had embraced the Christian faith, they did so too, and intended shortly to return to Tonga with some Otaheitan missionaries and schoolmasters, to instruct their countrymen. That, pursuant to this resolution, Langhi, accompanied by one of his wives, an Otaheitan woman, and two missionary natives of the same island, set out for and arrived here shortly after I had left Otaheite, and with their assistance he succeeded in converting his chief, the great Thubow, and all his subjects in the district of Nogoluffa. He also stated that a boat drifted here from the island of Whytutakee with five men on board. I asked him to bring them to me as I had been several times at their island, which is situated in 18° 52′ S. latitude, and longitude 159° 42′ W.

An hour had scarcely elapsed when two of these poor people came on board, and desired to see me. They were admitted into the ship, and related their adventure as follows.

Pamono, a native of Otaheite, established at their island as a missionary and schoolmaster, requested ten of them to embark in a large boat, and go to an island in the vicinity of Whytuta-

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kee, called Roratongu, with a letter to two of his countrymen, who were established there as missionaries and schoolmasters. They accordingly set out, but on their way had the misfortune to be overtaken by a strong gale of wind in the trades, which drove them past their port. They drifted about at sea for five months, undergoing all the pains and miseries that human nature could support for the want of food. Five perished from starvation: the surviving five were afterwards successful in snaring four sharks, which with a few sea-birds that occasionally alighted on their boat (and which were eagerly grasped at and ravenously devoured raw) were their only subsistence during the whole time they spent on the waves. The clouds afforded them a supply of rain-water barely sufficient to preserve life.

After thus combatting with famine and danger for five months, they were at length providentially wrecked upon this island. Here the natives most humanely assisted in rescuing them from the surf, in which their boat had been dashed to pieces, and when taken on shore they were scarcely able to stand erect. They experienced the most hospitable treatment from the benevolent inhabitants. During their two months' stay they were quite restored to health and strength, and were now anxiously awaiting

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an opportunity to return to their beloved native island.

The boat in which the above adventures occurred has been a most unfortunate one. On my voyage across the Pacific from Chili, in October 1824, I touched at the island of Ulitea, one of the Society Islands, where I met with a Mr. Williams, of the London mission. He informed me that about six months before he had sent his boat up to Otaheita with letters to his brother missionaries, where she arrived safe, and sailed from thence a few days after, but had never since been heard of: he therefore supposed all was lost, and the boat wrecked. Having sailed, however, from Ulitea late in October and touched at the island of Wateeoo, five hundred miles to leeward of Otaheita, there I found the lost boat with her crew. She had been on that occasion drifting about at sea for three months, when fortune at last kindly threw her on the shores of Wateeoo. She appeared to be a heavy ill-built boat of about ten tons. I afterwards learnt that she had been towed from Wateeoo to Whytutakee by a Port Jackson schooner, where she was left for the unfortunate narrators of this adventure to make another unsuccessful trip in her.

This evening I divided the crew into three watches, attaching an officer and petty officer to

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each; the former to be stationed on the poop, and the latter on the forecastle, during their respective watches. With a view to keep their vigilance alive, I called their attention to the fate of the American ship *Duke of Portland*, which had been cut off at this place, and all on board murdered, with the exception of Eliza Morley, an English female, and three boys. I reminded them also of the melancholy fate of Captain Pimbleton and Mr. Boston; the one commander, and the other supercargo of the American ship *Union*. Likewise of the capture of the *Port au Prince* and massacre of her crew; the fate of two whalers at Vavow; and lastly, the affray between the natives and Mr. Dumont d'Urville, which happened only a few weeks before. With such awful warnings, I did not suppose even a lascar would venture to sleep during his watch.

16*th*.—Shortly after daylight several canoes came off loaded with the produce of the island, and a brisk exchange began. Received a visit from the Otaheitan missionaries stationed here, who spent the night on board. They consisted of three men, and two women, their wives.

About 3 P.M. Thubow, a mighty chief of this island, and believed by the natives to be nearly related to the gods, honoured me with a visit. He brought a present of hogs, yams, &c. Un-

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derstanding that he had embraced the Christian religion, I received him under a salute of three guns, a distinction with which he was highly flattered. He gave me to understand that he wished to sleep on board all night, to which I agreed. Immediately after tea he repaired to the poop and joined his Christian brethren, Langhi and the Otaheitan missionaries, in prayer.

At half-past 7 the quarter-deck was lighted up with lanterns, and several of the crew danced to the music of the drum and fife. The New Zealanders, ten in number, performed the war dance, with which the chief appeared much amused.

I received a letter to-day from two gentlemen belonging to the Wesleyan mission stationed at a remote part of the island, wishing to be informed of the name of the ship that had anchored in the road the preceding day, which I willingly communicated.

As it would not have been safe to send my crew on shore to water, after what had recently taken place between the islanders and the *Astrolabe*, I procured a sample of fresh water to be brought to the ship, which I found to be excellent for present use, and, for aught I knew, good for sea-store also.

17*th*.—First and middle part of this day clear weather, with light trades and variable: hot

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sultry weather; latter part close weather, with rain.

In exchange for cutlery, &c. we procured, in the course of to-day, about thirty hogs and three tons of yams. Little of the ship business was attended to, in consequence of the communication with the natives, who surrounded the ship by hundreds from daylight to dark, disposing of their commodities. To prevent surprise from them I kept twelve men constantly under arms, who paraded the decks with loaded muskets.

After breakfast, the chief Thubow presented me with one of the largest hogs I ever saw, and a hundred yams, which would each average seven pounds: in return, I gave him a musket, cartouche-box, bayonet and belts, with some cutlery. He shortly after took his leave of me, promising to return on the morrow. The Otaheitan missionaries also departed at the same time, after having received some presents of cloth, thread, &c.

18*th*.—Light airs from the northward, with hot sultry weather the first and middle part of the day: latter part heavy showers of rain.

We were visited by the islanders at an early hour, and a brisk traffic commenced. Having procured by 10 o'clock a sufficient quantity of yams, not having room for any more, I put a

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stop to that branch of the trade; and at noon, the long-boat being full of hogs, which was a sufficient supply, I also closed that, to the disappointment and dissatisfaction of the islanders, who were alongside with several tons of yams, and hogs in abundance. I may safely say that Tonga is the best island in the South Seas for ships to recruit their supplies at, provisions there are in such plenty.

I employed the chief of Mafanga, the shipwrecked Whytutakeeans, and the American who joined me on Tuesday last, to go on shore for water to Pangimotoo this afternoon. The boat retured at 2 P.M. with a raft of water, but so brackish as to be totally unfit for use. I inquired of the chief where he had procured the breaker of water submitted to me as a sample the other day; he replied, "on the main land." Accordingly, after dinner, I sent him there with the casks; and shortly afterwards the boat with the person in charge returned, stating that four men had been left with the casks on shore to sink a well in the sand from which the water was to be filled; and as the tide would serve at five o'clock in the morning, it would be necessary to send for the raft at that time.

The Marquesa man, whom I had occasion to mention before as having in a fit of intellectual aberration attended muster armed with a large

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club, this morning, while standing sentry upon the poop, fired his musket at the stern boat, but fortunately the shot was harmless. His madness, which was a kind of hypochondria, led him to suppose that a part of the sail which was quivering in the wind was an evil spirit, at which he therefore took aim. To prevent more serious mistakes I put him in irons.

19th.—Winds from the north first part of this day, with heavy rain, thunder, and lightning. At 2 A.M. the new starboard quarter-boat, that was purchased at Van Diemen's Land, broke her slings and fell from the quarter. This accident was caused by the second officer's neglect, who retired to sleep in the cuddy during his watch on deck, and allowed the boat to become full of rain-water, and consequently so heavy that the tackle could not support the weight. I immediately ordered the larboard quarter-boat down in search of her, which after an absence of about an hour, succeeded in recovering her. She was towed alongside and hoisted up, when it was found that she had sustained much injury by the fall, her guardboard streak being staved, both gunwales broken, the midship thawt and knees broken, with many rents in the planks of the bottom and sides.

At 4 A.M. sent a boat on shore for the water casks. At 7½ A.M., as it blew a strong gale from

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the west, with the sea rolling in upon the beach, I made a signal for the boat to return without the casks; but I had to repeat the signal with three guns, two at the first recall, and another in half an hour afterwards.

At 8 A.M., being apprehensive that the best bower was foul, I let go the second anchor. The wind shifted to W.S.W., where it remained during the day, we then moored the ship. Pongimotoo bore N.E. by E.½E. a short mile, the west point of Tonga Island bearing W. by N.

A chief who stopped on board last night, being weather-bound to-day, as no canoes came off, begged to see our mode of dancing, in which I gratified him. The European seamen capered in reels and jigs to the sound of the fife and drum, which were then varied by the New Zealanders coming on the stage with their warlike and animating dances. This curious intermixture of different nations, manners, and costumes, made an interesting spectacle, with which he seemed highly delighted.

The lascars also performed their dance, according to the Asiatic custom, rapping their toes and heels against the deck in symphony with the squeaking of a wretched old fiddle, without even its proper complement of strings. Nevertheless the Tonga chief seemed to con-

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sider this discord as verifying the line of Pope:

"All discord's harmony, not understood,"

and commended that as pleasing kind harmony which the Europeans could not comprehend.

I this day received information from one of the second officer's watch, that last night during the heavy rain, he had quitted his post on the poop and placed himself in my arm-chair which was in the cuddy, where he shortly fell fast asleep. It was during this time that the quarter-boat, which in Van Diemen's Land had cost £25, was suffered to fill with rain-water and fall from her slings. Finding, therefore, that no confidence could be placed in his promises, I resolved to visit him occasionally during his night-watch, hoping that my presence in that manner might serve as a check, and keep him more upon his guard; as I was very apprehensive that the islanders might some night pay us an unfriendly visit, in consequence of intelligence of our unguarded state being communicated to the shore by those who were permitted sometimes to sleep on board the vessel.

20th.—Winds from W.S.W. throughout the first and middle part of the day, with fine weather: latter part inclined to calm. Shortly after 3 A.M., on looking out of the cabin window, I observed a large canoe with some small ones

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approaching the ship, and ran upon the quarter-deck, where I found the second officer of the ship, who had charge of the watch, fast asleep in a chair. I awoke him and mentioned what I had seen: he rubbed his eyes, and said it was a canoe passing from the opposite shore to the island. I again warned him of the impropriety of sleeping during the hours of his watch, and observed that this was the third time of his being guilty of that unseaman-like offence, which might be attended with the most serious consequences. At New Zealand, at sea, and now for the third time, I had discovered him sleeping: and at many other times, which had not come to my knowledge, he had, no doubt, been guilty of the same offence.

Having finished my lecture I retired to my cabin, where I had not been more than half an hour before I was disturbed by a noise under the window. On looking out, to my utter astonishment I beheld a very large canoe with about seventy men in it, besides several others following her close up. Confounded at the sight, and it being dark, I seized the first arms I could find, which was a pistol, and flying to the poop with only my shirt on, on my way passed my second officer on the quarter-deck, again fast asleep. There was not a single man upon the poop, and under the impression that

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the natives were boarding us, on the impulse of the moment I fired into the canoe which was nearest the ship.

I was followed by Langhi, the native, who had slept on board the preceding night. On hearing the report of the pistol he ascended the poop, and called out to his countrymen to keep off; that if they did not, the ship's guns would be instantly discharged upon them. They immediately complied with his order, and begged of him to prevail on us not to fire. My pistol fortunately had done no injury.

I now ascertained that all the men on this officer's watch had been asleep as well as himself, and I immediately roused the ship's company. When all hands had appeared at quarters, I in their presence put the second officer off duty, it being unsafe any more to trust our lives and the safety of the ship to so unfaithful a guardian, who had not sufficient honour, principle, or resolution, to perform his duty.

We were surrounded, as usual, by crowds of canoes loaded with large hogs, yams, cocoa-nuts, &c., very few of which we purchased, being already sufficiently stocked. Several canoes, containing some Tonga ladies of the highest families in the island, also came on board to-day, in order to see the New Zealanders. I treated them all kindly, presenting them with glass

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beads, scissors, empty wine-bottles, &c., which they received with the most gracious condescension.

We got off two small rafts of water to-day, and sent the boat on shore at dusk for another raft. The chief of Mafanga, who went in her, left two of his sons and one daughter on board in my care, by which I had good hostages for the peaceable behaviour of the islanders while my men were ashore, this chief adding to his temporal ascendancy the more influential rank of high priest, with all its concomitant awe and veneration.

I received a letter from the suspended second officer, requesting permission to quit the ship, and demanding a discharge; to which I replied by a verbal message, that I had no objection to his going on shore, and that I would willingly give him a written certificate, stating in it my reasons for parting with him.

At 9½ P.M. a boat approached the ship, in which was a Mr. Thomas, a Wesleyan missionary settled at or near the west point of this island. From him I learnt that the mission there was rather precariously situated, in consequence of the hostility of the chief of that part to the tenets of Christianity.

The chief of Mafanga informed me that he would take the liberty of coming on board to-

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morrow, and that he would bring his wives and children to view the ship. This, he said, he was the more inclined to do, as he knew I was uniformly kind to the ladies—not a bad stroke of flattery, coming from an untutored savage. I inquired how many wives he had. He said eight. A pretty good share for a priest: and in this particular he seems to hold the same doctrines with the Koolin Brahmins of India.

21*st.*—Light winds from S.W. to S., with fine weather throughout the day. The people employed hoisting in and stowing the water, &c.

At an early hour the chief of Mafanga paid his promised visit, accompanied by a numerous retinue of Tonga ladies. I began to suspect that our ideas of the number eight did not correspond when, on counting his sacred highness' suite, I enumerated thirty-one full grown females, with several children. I easily saw through this *ruse politique*, which was adopted, no doubt, with the view of obtaining a present for each, to support, or rather pay for the chief's compliment at parting yesterday. Each lady made me a small present of kava-root, some Tonga cloth, and shells; which, as a matter of course, I returned by making a present in gross of thirty-one strings of glass beads, thirty-six pairs of scissors, and twelve empty bottles, which were thankfully received, and regarded

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by the best judges on the island as a most valuable gift.

Many canoes were alongside to-day, but their numbers were upon the decrease, owing to several of the natives having returned home without being able to dispose of their provisions.

I expected to complete our stock of water on the morrow, and to sail the day following.

22d.—Light southerly winds throughout, with fine weather. Completed our stock of water this afternoon: bought a good-sized spar for a long-boat mast, in exchange for a musket.

As usual we were surrounded with canoes; some laden with produce, others with ladies whom curiosity had enticed to view the ship. Among the number was Maffee Heppay, about whom so much is said in "Mariner's Account of the Tonga Islands." This lady was the wife of King Fenow, when that chief took the *Port au Prince*, at the Harpie Islands, in December 1806. She afterwards adopted Mr. Mariner as her son, and, as he states himself, behaved with the greatest kindness. This trait in her character induced me to invite her on board, and treat her with marked respect. As we were going to breakfast, she accompanied me to the gun-room, followed by a numerous train of female attendants. After breakfast I shewed her the first volume of Mr. Mariner's nar-

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rative, which contained a portrait of her adopted son habited in the costume of the Friendly Islands. She immediately recognized the likeness, and exclaiming "it is *Tokey*,"* she wept bitterly.

When this interesting scene was over, I made her a present of some chintz, blue gurrahs, glass beads, knives, scissors, hatchets, &c., which gave her a high opinion of my generosity. She said that I must be some relation to Mr. Mariner, or I would not treat her so kindly. She appears to be now about thirty-seven years old, and has a most graceful appearance, but is much afflicted by some disease on one of her hands.

I was particularly anxious to learn whether la Pérouse did or did not touch at this island, according to the intention expressed in his last letter, addressed to the French Minister of Marine, dated from Botany Bay, March 7th, 1788. To ascertain this fact, I got a good interpreter, an Englishman who had lived among the Friendly Islands for nearly twenty-one years, to question the chief of Mafanga, a man about sixty-five or seventy years old, and also another intelligent native not so old, but who had arrived at the years of maturity before D'Entrecasteaux anchored in this port.

* Tokey is the name by which Mr. Mariner is known in the Friendly Islands.

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They stated that the first ships they or their forefathers had seen here were those under the command of Captain Cook; and that some years after two other large ships arrived, and anchored close to Pongimotoo, where some misunderstanding had arisen between them and the natives, which caused a chief named Gacoffoa (in English, "a high hill," on the Varow Islands) to be shot in or near his canoe. They likewise stated that, after Captain Cook's departure, and before the arrival of the two ships last-mentioned, two other large ships had arrived at the island of Namooca, or Rotterdam, but did not anchor: they stood off and on, having boats on shore trading.

When the trading officer landed, he formed a square, with lines of demarcation, in the midst of which he stood, guarded on either side by an armed sentinel. These lines were formed close to the boats, which were armed. This gentleman wore spectacles, and was called by the natives Lowage. Shortly after the trading commenced, Mr. Lowage bought a wooden pillow from an islander for a knife; but after the man had received it, he snatched up the wooden pillow and was in the act of running away, when Mr. Lowage drew a pistol from his belt and shot him dead upon the spot. He was a young chief named Coremoyanga. This

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alarmed the islanders, who ran into the woods, and Mr. Lowage and his party returned to their ships.

Next day several of the islanders ventured off, and trading recommenced. They received several presents from the Europeans, and all appeared to be amicably arranged. Two men of the island joined the ships, and went off with them. The following day those ships sailed to the westward, and nothing more has since been heard of them.

The two ships here alluded to must certainly have been those commanded by the Count de la Pérouse. The first ship of which we have any account that visited these islands was Tasman, the Dutch navigator, in A.D. 1642; the next was Captain Cook, in A.D. 1773; the third was Morillo, a Spanish navigator, in the *Princess* frigate, on a voyage from Manilla to St. Blas, in Mexico, A.D. 1781. He touched at only one of the Friendly Islands, named Varow. His narrative has been published; also that of Captains Bligh and Edwards in 1791, commanders of the *Bounty* sloop, *Pandora* frigate, and the *Providence* sloop.

The next ships we know of that touched here are those commanded by Admiral d'Entrecasteaux, on a voyage in search of la Pérouse. The natives plainly expressed that the two ships which visited Namooca arrived there after

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Captain Cook's departure and before the arrival of D'Entrecasteaux. There are no accounts on record in the English, French, Dutch, or Spanish languages, of any two ships being in these seas at the time alluded to, except those of the Count de la Pérouse.

23d.—At 2 P.M. unmoored the ship, and got all ready to sail next morning. This morning I was visited by Maffee Heppay, the lady mentioned in yesterday's journal, who expressed much gratitude for my presents, and begged of me to write a letter to Mr. Mariner, informing him that I had seen her, and that she was unwell; that she entertained the highest regard for him, and hoped to see him before she died; adding, "I hope that he will visit his old friends at Tonga before long."

This afternoon, Bour, an Otaheitan soldier on board, asked permission to go on shore; which I readily granted, considering him a dangerous character.

The chief of Mafanga having completed my water, wood, sand, and yam baskets, I asked what recompense he required. He replied, "Two muskets, some gunpowder, one cooking-pot, and a few articles of cutlery, ironmongery, &c.;" which I willingly gave him, as his services were most important, since his friendly aid preserved my crew from the danger of being kid-

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napped by his countrymen, and perhaps prevented the recurrence of a scene similar to that which took place with the *Astrolabe*.

This morning a canoe came to the ship from the island of Eawa, with a message from the American's wife and father-in-law there, begging of him to return, as they were much afflicted by his absence. He communicated this to me, and said that, on maturer deliberation, he now wished to go back, and remain with his kind friends among the islanders: he therefore requested my permission to accompany the canoe. I told him that I had no objection to his doing so, and would pay him for his services in procuring the water, &c.; that his intention of returning to his wife rather raised him in my opinion, for hard must be the heart that could resist the solicitations of so lovely a woman. John Downy, the poor idiot from New Zealand, made arrangements with his countryman to go on shore and live with him, till an opportunity should offer for their embarking in an American ship for their own country.

I understood from John Singleton, the interpreter, that M. Dumont d'Urville had received similar information relative to the ships which touched at Namooca as communicated to me by the natives; and the same person likewise informed me, that the *Dueythonga* (spiritual

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chief) who reigned at the time of the *Port au Prince's* capture, had two pewter plates in his possession with French inscriptions on them, which had been procured from Lowage's ships; but that they being appropriated to the service of the gods, were held sacred, and at the death of the *Dueythonga* were buried with him. Singleton assured me that he had seen and handled these plates frequently.

This circumstance must therefore be regarded as strongly confirmatory of my hypothesis, that these ships were those commanded by la Pérouse. Hence it appears that I have traced his route exactly as laid down in his letter to the minister of Marine, dated from Botany Bay, 7th of March 1788, and that, conformably with his intentions therein expressed, he did visit the Friendly Islands. Nor is it to be wondered at that D'Entrecasteaux missed of this information, as he only visited Tonga (the capital), and was without interpreters. He might, therefore, not be able to make the requisite inquiries; and even if the natives had, unsolicited, communicated the fact, he might be unable to understand them. Fortunately for me I had not these difficulties to combat with: for besides being provided with able interpreters, I was myself acquainted with various dialects of the South-

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sea Islanders, some of which I understood as well as I did English.

24th—M. Chaigneau, the French agent, having interceded with me in behalf of the second officer, now suspended, and being aware that he had severely lectured him on the impropriety of his conduct, I hoped that the effect produced by a foreigner's reproof, and meditation, would leave a suitable impression on his mind: and being willing to pay a compliment to the French agent by attending to his solicitation, I promised to reinstate the offender. I therefore sent for him, and once more represented to him the heinousness of his behaviour, for which, on board of a ship in his Majesty's service, he would be liable to be shot; adding that, notwithstanding his repeated transgressions, I was willing once more to try him, on the following conditions, *viz.* that he would in the presence of all the officers make a public apology to me for his conduct, and promise at the same time never again while on board the ship to sleep, or even to sit, during the hours of his watch at night: with which conditions he willingly complied, and I allowed him to return to his duty.

Light breezes from E.S.E., with cloudy weather throughout this day. The wind being so

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light, I could not venture to get the ship under weigh, so as to clear the reefs before night; I therefore employed the people about the rigging and otherwise as necessary. Peter, the Marquesa man, who became a little deranged on the voyage, begged permission to remain here; which I agreed to, as in his state of mind it was dangerous to entrust him with arms. In lieu of Peter and Bour, I shipped two of the wrecked Whytutakee men mentioned in a former part of my journal.

A female chieftain of considerable influence came to the ship's side to-day, and stated that several years ago an American ship anchored at the west part of this island, and was soon visited by the natives, among whom was her brother. That while on board one of them stole an axe, which so alarmed the rest lest they might be involved in his punishment, that they leaped overboard to swim on shore. On this a boat was lowered from the ship's side, and one of the natives (her brother) was seized, brought on board, and conveyed to America. His friends had supposed for a long time that he was killed, till the serjeant of marines of the *Port au Prince* eased them of their concern, by informing them he had quitted America, gone to England, enlisted as a soldier, and was now big-drummer in the Duke of York's band. She

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earnestly requested to know if this account of her brother was true; which I was sorry not to be able to confirm, as I had not been in Europe for twenty years. I promised, however, to make inquiry.

Thubow inquired of me this morning at breakfast where Mannicolo lay, for that, in all the voyages of the Tonga people among the islands, they had never heard of the Mannicolos. I informed him that it was close to Tucopia, an island of which he also professed ignorance, demanding if it lay near Rothuma. I told him that it did, and that in going there I should pass Rothuma.

He told me that a fleet of his canoes had, a short time ago, returned from the Navigators' Islands, bringing with them from thence two Rothumans, who had by chance drifted thither. These, he said, were now desirous to return to their native island. As I was to pass it I agreed to take them, and one embarked this afternoon. From him I learnt that, in company with some more of his countrymen, he set out from Rothuma about eight years ago for an island to the north-east of it, called Withuboo, to procure shells. Contrary winds had prevented them from making their intended port, and after having been three months at sea they made a land, which proved to be the Hamoa or Navi-

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gators' Islands, the natives of which treated them kindly. Some of his party still remained there.

This is a very satisfactory proof of my opinion of a north-west monsoon prevailing in these latitudes at a certain season of the year; for otherwise, how could so small a bark as a canoe make a passage from Rothuma, in latitude 12° 30′ S., and longitude 177° E., to the Navigators' Islands, in latitude 13° 27′ S., and longitude 171° 57′ W.

On my old friend, Tuckcafinawa, the high priest and chief of Mafanga, hearing mention made of Rothuma, inquired if I intended to call there: to which I replied in the affirmative. He then informed me that the priests of that island were tributary to his district, and that about three years ago he sent his eldest son with three large canoes to collect the tribute, from whence he had not since returned; that he was fearful he and his men had offended the gods and were cast away at sea, either going to or returning from Rothuma. He now wished, therefore, to send some people with me, to ascertain, if possible, their fate, and to collect the tribute now due to the deity by the chiefs and priests of that island. To this request I gladly acceded, for the double purpose of obliging the good old chief, who had been so essen-

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tially serviceable to me, and also because, as I had no interpreters of the Tonga language on board, these would serve the purpose, should I fall in with the two men who accompanied Lowage's ships from Namooca. I supposed that if these men escaped from the wreck at Mannicolo, they would, in all probability, have remained there, sooner than risk another voyage with the strangers in the small vessel built by them at Paiow, according to Martin Bushart's account derived from the Tucopians.

In the evening he embarked his daughter, a girl about fourteen years old, with her brother, his second son, and a male servant, as being the persons whom it was his desire to send to Rothuma; I would not have received so many, if it were not that I might have occasion to revisit Tonga before the voyage had terminated, it being the only place where I could revictual in the event of my not succeeding in discovering the wreck of la Pérouse at the Mannicolos of the Tucopians. I would then have to visit the Mallicolo of Captain Cook, to see what was to be learnt there regarding the object of our expedition. To reach the latter island, I should be compelled to stand into the variable winds, and of course, after such loss of time, have to refresh at Tonga.

I considered that if I succeeded in prevailing

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on the three persons put on board by the high priest of Tonga, or upon any one of them, to accompany me during the search, I might, by treating him or them kindly, ingratiate myself into the chief's favour, and secure to myself and crew a kind reception and a repetition of his offices. I was further induced to take these three people with me from the following circumstance. At Tongataboo I met with an aged Otaheitan woman, who had resided among the Friendly Islands for the last fifteen years, and who consequently was well acquainted with the language; and as I speak the Otaheitan language fluently, I supposed her services might be very useful to me as an interpreter of the Tonga language, for which I engaged her: but she having succeeded in obtaining some presents from me, deserted.

25th.—This day commenced with moderate breezes and cloudy weather: wind from the south-east. Shortly after daylight weighed and sailed out from Pongimoodo. At 7½ A. M. anchored in nineteen fathoms water; the sun being obscured and cloudy, so as to prevent my seeing any of the numerous coral patches with which this bay is strewed.

At 9 A. M. I sent the chief officer, with Langhi the Tonga pilot, to sound the bay out to the passage through the reefs, and directed him par-

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ticularly to see what course ought to be steered through that channel, as I was apprehensive if the wind should come any thing to the eastward of E.S.E., that I could not get through that way.

At 10 A.M. the weather became dark: shortly after we had a smart shower of rain. I considered myself fortunate in getting to an anchor in time. The bearings of the islands from our present anchorage were as follow: Pongimoodo, S.E. by S.; Makaha, S.E. by E.; Tafa E. ¼ N. one and a half miles.

About this time the good old chief of Mafanga came off in a large sailing canoe to the ship. He was at a loss to know our reason for anchoring so far out, and supposed that we had got on shore, or that some of our men had deserted us.

On the boat's return from the reef the officer made the following report, which I here insert, as it may be useful to other navigators departing from this port.

"We sailed from the ship N.W.½N. by compass, and N.W. until we reached the passage in the reef. The reef on the left hand side of the passage going out, extends from the large island of Otata from one and a half to two miles. Our soundings from the ship to the passage were from eighteen to ten and eight fathoms

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close to the reefs. The soundings across the passage from the left to the right hand reef were from eight to fifteen fathoms. The passage is a full English half mile wide, clear of all danger. The passage through the reef is N.N.W. per compass. We then made for the ship, steering S.E. and S.E. ½ S.; soundings variable, from eighteen to seven fathoms. Where we had nine, eight, and seven, it was on coral patches; where we had from fifteen to eighteen, our soundings were mud and sand."

From the above account, this is certainly the best passage to go out by; and to adopt it, ships ought to steer from the anchorage at Pongimoodo from N.W. to N.W. by N., and N. per compass, until the island of Tafa is brought to bear E.¼N., distance off one mile and a half: then steer for the passage from N.W. to N.W. and by N. If the trade wind should happen to be at N.E., a ship can lay out the channel N.N.W.

We had a few canoes off to-day with cocoanuts and fish. From the canoe that contained the fish, I bought six very fine for a boat-axe, which would each weigh five or six pounds. They were much resembling the schnappers of Port Jackson, which are very large, sometimes weighing from twelve to twenty pounds.

26th.—This day commenced with cloudy,

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misty weather, for which reason I did not consider it safe to get under weigh till the sun shone clear, when I might distinctly discern the coral patches on my way to the reef.

The canoe of Langhi, the Tonga pilot, rigged with a triangular sail, came off from one of the islands to the ship. He proposed its sailing before the ship to the reefs, and I willingly accepted of his services.

At 8½ A.M. the clouds cleared off, and the sun was unobscured; its rays were strongly reflected on the different reefs and coral banks. At 9 A.M. got under sail and steered out after the pilot's canoe towards the reef: our course per compass was from N.W. by N., to N.N.W.

At 10½ A.M. we got clear out to sea and hove-to. The pilot's canoe then came alongside with Langhi's friends on board; and at his request I gave him a musket, some gunpowder, and a pair of razors, as his fee for pilotage, for which he was very thankful.

On passing out through the reef the weather was very clear, and I could plainly perceive to the east or windward of my station two more passages through it, both of a much larger extent than that in which I was. Each of these passages I supposed to be more than a mile wide. As soon as the pilot had left the ship I made sail for the islands Hanga Tonga, and Hanga

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Hapai, which were then in sight from the deck. At 4¼ P.M. those islands bore E. by N. per compass two miles; and at a quarter before 6 P.M. the island of Tiffooa was visible from the poop, bearing N. by E. eastwardly, eight or nine leagues. Steered N. by W. by compass, to pass to the westward of Tiffooas, also Latey.

My passengers and interpreters for Rothuma, *viz.* the Rothuma chief, the Tonga woman, and the Tonga men, were exceedingly sea-sick during this short passage. They gave me to understand that a sovereign specific against this ailment was the water of a roasted half-ripe cocoa-nut. Having some on board very fortunately, I lost no time in administering relief to them, and I set cooks to roast them so long as my patients would take the draught.

27th.—At 6 A.M. the island of Oghao, or Grand Mountain of Marilla, was in sight; and at 8 A.M. the peak of it began to disappear. We could plainly discern the top of the peak, although our distance from it at this time was fifty-two miles, bearing per compass S.S.E.½E. I am of opinion that in clear weather this island might be seen eighty miles at sea.

We kept a man at the mast-head on the lookout for the island of Latey, which we passed without seeing it. Latey is not very high, and the reflection of the sun being on that side,

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prevented us from having a distant view of it.

The trades were strong throughout this day, with fine weather. Latitude at noon, 18° 22′ S.; longitude 175° 24′ W. Thermometer in shade at noon, 74°.

END OF VOL. I.

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NARRATIVE

OF THE

DISCOVERY OF THE FATE

OF

LA PÉROUSE.

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NATIVES

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NARRATIVE

AND

SUCCESSFUL RESULT

OF A

VOYAGE IN THE SOUTH SEAS,

PERFORMED BY ORDER OF THE

GOVERNMENT OF BRITISH INDIA,

TO ASCERTAIN

THE ACTUAL FATE

OF

LA PÉROUSE'S EXPEDITION,

INTERSPERSED WITH

ACCOUNTS OF THE RELIGION, MANNERS, CUSTOMS, AND CANNIBAL PRACTICES

OF THE

SOUTH SEA ISLANDERS.

BY THE

CHEVALIER CAPT. P. DILLON,

Member of the Legion of Honour; of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and of the Geographical Society of Paris:
Commander of the Hon. East-India Company's Ship Research.

IN TWO VOLUMES.
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NARRATIVE,

&c. &c.

CHAPTER I.

MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THE FRIENDLY ISLANDERS.

On this subject I shall avail myself of the correct and interesting sketch of the Friendly Islanders given by Mr. Mariner; because, having arrived among them in early youth, and become perfectly acquainted with their language, manners, customs, and modes of thinking, he had better opportunities of observation than any one who either went before or came after him. His work, though highly valuable and interesting, is in comparatively few hands; and from personal observation, and the inquiries made of others when on the spot, I can bear testimony to its general accuracy. I begin with the

DIFFERENT GRADES OF RANK.

One and the same individual (a priest), who to-day is scarcely held in any estimation, may to-

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morrow (under the influence of the inspiration of some god) take place of every body present, seat himself at the head of the cava ring, be respected as the god himself, and his discourse attentively listened to as oracular. Again, the king himself, whom one might suppose to be the greatest person in the country (and in fact he has the greatest power), is by no means the highest noble, but must yield in point of rank to many others. In this order of things, therefore, we shall first speak of those persons to whom rank and respect are yielded on the score of religious circumstances: and these are *Tooitonga*, *Veachi*, and the *Priests*.

The high-priest and other divine persons.—We here speak of Tooitonga as if actually existing in his full rank, with all the public honours of religious estimation; but it will be recollected that before Mr. Mariner's departure from Eavaoo, the king had done away entirely with all the ceremonies formerly considered due to the divine character of this chief: and as this was done immediately after Tooitonga's death, his son did not succeed to this high title; so that, if affairs still remain in the same state at Eavaoo, there is at present no Tooitonga, and probably never again will be.

Tooitonga and Veachi are both acknowledged descendants of chief gods, who formerly visited the islands of Tonga; but whether their original

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mothers were goddesses, or merely natives of Tonga, is a question which they do not pretend to decide. Of these two personages, Tooitonga, as may be guessed from his title, is far higher in rank. The word imports 'chief of Tonga,' which island has always been considered the most noble of all the Friendly Islands; and from time immemorial the greatest chiefs have been accustomed to make it their principal place of residence, and after their decease to be buried there in the tombs of their ancestors. This island, moreover, gives name, by way of pre-eminence, to all the islands taken collectively, as a capital town sometimes gives name to a county; and withal it has acquired the epithet of sacred, *táboo*, and is thus sometimes called Tonga*táboo*, denoting its excellence. From this circumstance it is erroneously noted down in our charts Tongataboo; but *táboo* is only an epithet occasionally used.

Thus all that need be said in this place of Tooitonga is, that he is by far the greatest *egi* or noble, having the credit of a divine origin, and that all respect and veneration is therefore due to him.

Veachi, as mentioned before, is another *egi* of divine origin, but far from being equal to Tooitonga. The king, indeed, avoids his presence, the same as he would that of Tooitonga,

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and always pays him the usual obeisance when he happens to meet him: but he has no peculiar marks of high respect shewn to him as are shewn to Tooitonga; that is to say, no ceremonies that are in themselves peculiar and different from what are shewn to other chiefs by their inferiors.

Priests, or fahe-gehe.—The term *fahe-gehe* means 'split off, separate, or distinct from,' and is applied to signify a priest or man who has a peculiar or distinct sort of mind or soul, differing from that of the generality of mankind, which disposes some god occasionally to inspire him.

The civil ranks of society are thus divided: —*How*, or king; *egi*, or nobles; *mataboolcs*; *mooas* and *tooas.*

Of the king.—The *how*, or king, is an arbitrary monarch, deriving his right to the throne partly from hereditary succession and partly from military power, which latter he is occasionally obliged to exert to secure himself in the former. His power and influence over the minds of the people is derived from the following circumstances, namely, hereditary right; supposed protection of the gods, if he is the lawful heir; his reputation as a warrior; the nobility of his descent; and, last but not least, the strength and number of his fighting men.

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He, of course, possesses the greatest power of any individual; but in respect to rank, as before observed, he is differently circumstanced. In this last particular, not only Tooitonga, Veachi, and priests actually inspired, are superior to him, but even several other nobles are higher in rank, not as to office or power, but as to blood or descent: for nobility consists in being related either to Tooitonga, Veachi, or the How, and the nearer any family is related to them the nobler it is: those related to Tooitonga being nobler than those equally related to Veachi, and those related to this latter being more noble than those equally related to the How. Hence it appears that there must be many *egies* more noble than even the king himself; and to such the king, meeting them, must shew the same marks of respect as are usual from an inferior to a superior; and if he were to touch any thing personally belonging to the superior chief, as himself or his garments, or the mat on which he sleeps, he becomes *tabooed*, as it is termed, or under the prohibition to feed himself with his own hands; or if he does, it is at the risk of becoming diseased, or suffering some other calamity from the gods as a punishment. But from this *taboo* he can readily free himself, by performing the ceremony of *möë-möë*, which consists in touching

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with both hands the feet of the superor chief, or of one equal to him.

Egi, or nobles.—All those persons are *egi*, or nobles, or chiefs (for we have used these terms synonimously), who are any way related either to the family of the Tooitonga, or Veachi, or the How, and all and nobody else but chiefs have the privilege of freeing people from the *taboo*, under circumstances and in the manner related in the above paragraph.

In every family nobility descends by the female line; for where the mother is not a noble the children are not nobles. But supposing the father and mother to be nearly equal by birth, the following is the order in which the individuals of the family are to be ranked, *viz.* the father, the mother, the eldest son, the eldest daughter, the second son, the second daughter, &c.; or, if there be no children, the next brother to the man, then the sister, the second brother, the second sister, &c. But if the woman is more noble than the man, then her relations, in like manner, take precedence in rank; but they do not inherit his property. All the children of a female noble are without exception nobles.

Matabooles.—These rank next to the chiefs: they are a sort of honourable attendants upon chiefs; are their companions, counsellors, and

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advisers; they see that the orders and wishes of their chiefs are duly executed, and may not improperly be called their ministers, and are more or less regarded according to the rank of the chief to whom they are attached. They have the management of all ceremonies.

Mooas are the next class of people below the *matabooles.* They are either the sons or brothers of *matabooles*, or descendants of the latter. As the sons or brothers of *matabooles* are *mooas*, and as no *mooa* can become a *mataboole* till his father or brother, whom he is to succeed, be dead; so, in like manner, the sons and brothers of *mooas* are only *tooas*, and no *tooa* can become a *mooa* till his father or brother, whom he is to succeed, be dead.

Professional class of society.—We now come to speak of those who draw respect rather than rank, according to their usefulness in different manufactures more or less regarded. Some of these are *matabooles*, and rank accordingly; the greater part of them are *mooas*, and the remainder of course *tooas.*

Among those that practise the arts, there are many that do it because their fathers did the same before them, and consequently have brought them up to it; and these are, for the most part, such as practise arts that are considered ingenious, and therefore respect-

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able, and hence they have no motive sufficiently strong (unless it be sometimes laziness) to engage them to relinquish it, particularly as they obtain presents from their chiefs for their ingenuity. There is no positive law to oblige them to follow the business of their fathers, nor any motive but the honourable estimation in which their arts are held, or their own interest, or the common custom.

None of them are *matabooles*, but a few of the canoe-builders, and the superintendents of funeral rites; perhaps about a fifth or a sixth part of them. And some of these are very expert in cutting ornaments out of whale's teeth, for necklaces, or for inlaying clubs; likewise in making clubs and spears and other warlike instruments, which are not separate professions, but arts practised by the canoe-builders as being expert in the use of the *togi* or axe.

But the two lowest of all, *viz.* the cooks and peasants, are such by inheritance. The term cook is frequently applied to a man though he be not a cook, to signify that he is of very low rank.

The following, then, will be the order in which the different professions will stand, as to the respect they may command in society. All individuals are not, however, esteemed according to their profession, but according to their abilities in it; for a clever man in one art will

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be sometimes more esteemed than a man of moderate abilities in a higher. In this arrangement, the cooks of chiefs are placed before the peasants, because the cooks of chiefs generally have to overlook them.

Hereditary.	*Toofoonga fo váca*, canoe-builders.	Followed both by matabooles and mooas.
Hereditary.	*Toofoonga a fino le*, cutters of whale-teeth ornaments.	Followed both by matabooles and mooas.
Hereditary.	*Toofoonga táboo*, superintendents of funeral rites.	Followed both by matabooles and mooas.
Hereditary.	*Toofoonga ta máca*, stone-masons, or makers of stone coffins.	Followed both by mooas and tooas.
Hereditary.	*Toofoonga jia cobénga*, net-makers.	Followed both by mooas and tooas.
Hereditary.	*Toofoonga toty'ica*, fishermen.	Followed both by mooas and tooas.
Hereditary.	*Toofoonga lánga fúlle*, large house-builders.	Followed both by mooas and tooas.
Hereditary or not.	*Toofoonga tu tatto'w*, those who perform the tattow.	Followed both by mooas and tooas.
Hereditary or not.	*Toofoonga tongi acöw*, club-carvers.	Followed both by mooas and tooas.
Hereditary or not.	*Toofoonga fy cava*, barber, or shaver with shells.	Followed only by tooas.
Hereditary.	*Targáta fe oo'moo*, cooks.	Followed only by tooas.
Hereditary.	*Key fonoóa*, peasants.	Followed only by tooas.

RELIGION.

The religion of the Tonga Islands rests chiefly on the belief of the following notions:

1. That there are *Hotooas*, gods, or supreme beings, who have the power of dispensing good

and evil to mankind, according to their merit, but of whose origin they form no idea, rather supposing them to be eternal.

2. There are other *Hotooas*, or gods, *viz.* the souls of all deceased nobles and *mataboolcs*, who have the like power of dispensing good and evil, but in an inferior degree.

3. That there are besides several *Hotooa Pow*, or mischievous gods, whose attribute is never to dispense good, but petty evils and troubles; not as a punishment, but indiscriminately, to whomsoever it may be, from a pure mischievous disposition.

4. That all superior beings, although they may perhaps have had a beginning, will have no end.

5. That the world also is of doubtful origin, and co-existent with the gods; the *solid* sky, the heavenly bodies, and the ocean, being pre-existent to the habitable earth, which was afterwards drawn out of the water by the god Tangaloa, whilst fishing with a line and hook.

6. That mankind, according to a partial tradition, first came from Bolatoo, the residence of the gods, an island to the north-westward, and resided at the Tonga Islands by command of Tangalao. They consisted of two brothers with their wives and attendants, whose origin they pretend to know nothing about.

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7. That all human evil is inflicted by the gods upon mankind, on account of some neglect of religious duty, either in the person or persons who suffer the infliction, or in the *egi* or chief whom they serve; and the contrary of good.

8. That all *egi* or nobles have souls, which exist hereafter in Bolotoo, not according to their mortal merit but their rank in this world; and then they have power similar to the original gods, but less. The *matabooles* also go to Bolotoo after death, where they exist as *matabooles* or ministers to the gods; but they have not the power of inspiring priests. The *mooas*, according to the belief of some, also go to Bolotoo; but this is a matter of great doubt. But the *tooas*, a lower class of people, have no souls, or such only as dissolve with the body after death, which consequently ends their sentient existence.

9. That the human soul during life is not a distinct essence from the body, but only the more etherial part of it, which exists in Bolotoo in the form and likeness of the body the moment after death.

10. That the primitive gods and deceased nobles sometimes appear (visibly) to mankind, to warn or to afford comfort and advice; that the primitive gods also sometimes come into the

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living bodies of lizards, porpoises, and a species of water-snake: hence these animals are much respected. Their coming into porpoises is supposed to be for the purpose of taking care of vessels, &c.

11. That the two personages of the Tonga Island known by the name of *Tooitonga* and *Veachi*, are descended in a right line from two chief gods, and that all respect and veneration is therefore due to them.

12. That some persons are favoured with the inspirations of the gods, by an actual existence of the god for the time being in the person (the priest) so inspired, who is then capable of prophesying.

13. That human merit or virtue consists chiefly in paying respect to the gods, nobles, and aged persons; in defending one's hereditary rights; honour, justice, patriotism, friendship, meekness, modesty, fidelity of married women, parental and filial love, observance of all religious ceremonies, patience in suffering, forbearance of temper, &c.

14. That all rewards for virtue or punishments for vice happen to men in this world only, and come immediately from the gods.

15. That several acts acknowledged by all civilized nations as crimes, are under many circumstances considered by them as a matter of

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indifference, such as revenge; killing a servant who has given provocation, or any body else, provided it be not a very superior chief or noble; rape, provided it be not upon a married woman, or one to whom respect is due on the score of superior rank from the perpetrator; theft, except it be consecrated property.

16. Omens are considered direct indications of the gods to mankind. Charms or superstitious ceremonies to bring evil upon any one are considered for the most part infallible, as being generally effective means to dispose the gods to accord with the curse or evil wish of the malevolent invoker. To perform these charms is considered cowardly and unmanly, but does not constitute a crime.

The Tonga people universally believe in the existence of a large island called Bolotoo, lying at a considerable distance to the north-westward of their own island, which they consider to be the place of residence of their gods, and of the souls of their noble *matabooles*. This island is supposed to be much larger than all their own islands put together; to be well stocked with all kinds of useful and ornamental plants; always in a state of high perfection, and always bearing the richest fruits and the most beautiful flowers, according to their respective natures. That when these fruits or flowers are plucked, others

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immediately occupy their place; and that the whole atmosphere is filled with the most delightful fragrance that the imagination can conceive, proceeding from these immortal plants. The island is also well stocked with the most beautiful birds of all imaginable kinds, as well as with abundance of hogs, all of which are immortal, unless they are killed to provide food for the *hotooas*, or gods; but the moment a hog or bird is killed, another living hog or bird immediately comes into existence to supply its place, the same as with the fruits and flowers: and this, as far as they know or suppose, is the only mode of propagation of plants and animals. The island of Bolotoo is supposed to be so far off as to render it dangerous for their canoes to attempt going there; and it is supposed, moreover, that even if they were to succeed in reaching so far, unless it happened to be the particular will of the gods, they would be sure to miss it. They give, however, an account of a Tonga canoe, which on her return from the Feejee Islands a long time ago, was driven by stress of weather to Bolotoo. Ignorant of the place where they were, and being much in want of provisions, seeing the country abound in all sorts of fruit, the crew landed and proceeded to pluck some bread-fruit; but, to their unspeakable astonishment, they could no more lay hold

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on it than if it were a shadow. They walked through the trunks of trees and passed through the substance of the houses (which were built like those of Tonga) without feeling any resistance. They at length saw some of the *hotooas*, who passed through the substance of their bodies as if there was nothing there. The *hotooas* recommended them to go away immediately, as they had no proper food for them, and promised them a fair wind and a speedy passage. They accordingly put directly for sea, and in two days' sailing with the utmost velocity they arrived at Kamoa (the Navigators' Islands), at which place they wanted to touch before they went to Tonga. Having remained at Kamoa two or three days they sailed for Tonga, where they arrived with great speed. But in the course of a few days they all died, not as a punishment for having been at Bolotoo, but as a natural consequence, the air of Bolotoo, as it were, infecting mortal bodies with speedy death. The *hotooas* are supposed to have no canoes, not requiring them; for if they wish to be any where, there they are the moment the wish is felt.

The *Hotooas*, or supernatural intelligent beings, may be divided into classes.

1. The original gods.
2. The souls of nobles that have all attributes

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in common with the first, but inferior in degree.

3. The souls of *matabooles* that are still inferior, and have not the power, as the two first have, of coming back to Tonga to inspire the priests, though they are supposed to have the power of appearing to their relatives.

4. The original attendants or servants, as it were, of the gods, who although they had their origin, and have ever since existed in Bolotoo, are still inferior to the third class.

5. The *Hotooa Pow*, or mischievous gods.

6. *Móooi*, or the god that supports the earth, and does not belong to Bolotoo.

The first class, or original *hotooas*, are supposed to be rather numerous, perhaps about three hundred; but the names of very few are known, and those only to some of the chiefs and *matabooles*.

Several of these primitive *hotooas* have houses dedicated to them. The houses are built in the usual style, but generally somewhat more care is taken both in building them and keeping them in good order, decorating their enclosures with flowers, &c. About twenty of the gods have houses thus consecrated to them, some having five or six, others one or two. The following are the names and attributes of the principal gods.

Táli-y-Toobó. The literal meaning of this

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name, from which nothing can be deduced, is 'Wait there, Toobo.' He is the patron of the *How* and his family; not of Finow in particular, who is the present king, but of any one who may be king. He is also god of war, and is consequently always invoked in time of war by the *How's* party. In time of peace he is also occasionally invoked for the general good of the nation, as well as for the particular interest and welfare of the *How's* family.

Toóifooa Bolótoo.—The literal meaning of this is 'Chief of all Bolotoo.' From this name one would suppose him to be the greatest god in Bolotoo, but he is inferior to the one before-mentioned. How he came by this name the natives themselves can give no account: the only answer they make is, that such is his proper name. Although he is the god of Bolotoo, he is inferior to Tali y Toobo; insomuch, that they scarcely make a comparison between them. If you ask them whether Tooi fooa Bolotoo is a great god, they will answer, "Yes, he is a very great god."—"Is Tali y Toobo a great god?"—"Yes, much greater."—"How great then is Tali y Toobo?"—"He is a great chief, from the top of the sky down to the bottom of the earth."

Higooléo (meaning 'unknown'); a very high god, revered principally by Tooitonga's family.

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He has no priest nor any house, and is supposed never to come to Tonga. The natives are uncertain about his attributes.

Toobó Totái (literally, 'Toobo the mariner'). He is the patron of Finow's family, also the god of voyages. In the first quality he is often invoked by Finow; in the second quality he is often invoked by chiefs going upon any maritime expedition; also by any body in a canoe during a voyage. He is not the god of the wind, but is supposed to have great influence with that god. His chief power is extended to the preservation of canoes from accidents.

Alái Váloo (the meaning of this name is not known; *Valoo* the number eight). A god that patronizes the *How*'s family, but is particularly the patron god of Tóë Oomoo, the late king's aunt.

A'lo, A'lo (literally, 'to fan'). God of wind and weather, rain, harvest, and vegetation in general. This god is generally invoked about once a month if the weather is seasonable, that it may remain so; if the weather is unseasonable or destructive on shore, by excessive wind or rain, he is invoked every day. A'lo A'lo is not the god of thunder and lightning, of which indeed there is no god acknowledged among them, as this phenomenon is never recollected to have done any mischief of consequence. In boisterous weather at sea, the superior god Too-

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bó Fotái, the protector of canoes, and other sea gods, are always invoked in place of A'lo A'lo. This ceremony is repeated every ten days, for eight times successively.

Toói Bolótoo (literally, 'chief of Bolotoo'). This and the three following gods are all minor gods of the sea and of voyages, and protector of Finow's family. Notwithstanding his name he is inferior to all the gods mentioned before him, but much upon an equality with the three following:

Hála ápiápi (literally, 'a laad crowded'). He has the same attributes as Tooi Bolotoo.

Tógi Oocumméa (literally, an 'iron axe'). The same attributes as the above.

Toobó Boógoo (literally, 'Toobo the short'). The same attributes as the above.

Tanglóa, god of artificers and the arts. Doubtful if he has any house dedicated to him. He has several priests, who are all carpenters. It was this god that brought the Tonga Islands from the bottom of the sea whilst fishing.

Such are the names and attributes of the chief primitive gods: next to those in rank and power come the souls of nobles.

The Hotooa Pow, or mischievous gods. Of these there are, perhaps, several in number, but only five or six are supposed to be particularly active, and from their disposition to plague

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mankind, they reside more frequently at Tonga than at Bolotoo. They are accused of being the cause of all the petty inconveniences and troubles of life; and at Hamón (or the Navigators' Island) they have an idea, which is very convenient to the reputation of the females, that some of these *Hotooa Pow* molest them in their sleep, in consequence of which there are many supernatural conceptions. At Toonga, however, the matter is never carried to that extent. These *Hotooa Pow* had no priests, have no houses dedicated to them, nor are they ever invoked. All the great misfortunes of life, as has been before observed, are special inflictions for the crimes of men; whereas, the mischievous tricks played by the *Hotooa Pow* are for their own whim and delight. They lead passengers astray, trip them up, pinch them, jump upon their backs in the dark, and cause the nightmare and frightful dreams. They are never seen.

Móoi.—A god that supports the earth, the earth lying on him, he being prostrate. This, as may be supposed, is a very gigantic being, greater in personal bulk than any of the others. He never inspires anybody, nor ever leaves his situation. He has no house dedicated to him. When an earthquake happens, it is supposed that this god, feeling himself in an uneasy posture, is endeavouring to turn himself about;

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and on such occasions the people give loud shouts, and beat the ground with sticks, which is supposed to have the effect of making him lie still. They have no idea of what he lies on, nor ever make any inquiries about it; and say it would be folly to do so, for who could go there and see.

Such is the account they give of their gods; and the respect which they pay to these imaginary beings is so great and so universal, that scarcely any instance is known of downright impiety.

Idea of the Creation of the World.—It is believed that originally there was no land above the water but the island of Bolotoo, which, like the gods, the heavenly bodies, and the ocean, has probably always been. One day Tangaloa, the god of arts and inventions, went forth to fish in the great ocean, and having from the sky let down his hook and line into the sea, on a sudden he felt a great resistance. Believing that he had caught an immense fish, he exerted his strength, and presently there appeared above the surface several points of rock, which increased in number and extent the more he drew his line. The rocky bottom of the ocean, in which it was now evident his hook had caught, was thus fast advancing to the surface, so as to have made one vast continent, when

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unfortunately the line broke, and the islands of Tonga remain to shew the imperfection of Tangaloa's attempt. The rock in which the hook was fixed was already above the surface, and is to be seen to this day in the island of Hoomga, where they shew the very hole where it caught. The hook was in the possession of the Tooitonga family till about thirty years ago, when it was accidentally burnt along with the house in which it was kept.

Tangaloa having thus discovered land by the divine influence of himself and other gods, it was soon replete with all kinds of trees, herbs, and animals, such as were in Bolotoo, but of an inferior quality, and subject to decay and death. Being now willing that Tonga should also be inhabited by intelligent beings, he commanded his two sons thus:* "Go and take with you your wives, and dwell in the world at Tonga; divide the land into two portions, and dwell separately from each other." They departed accordingly. The name of the eldest was Toobó, and the name of the youngest was Váca-aców-oóli, who was an exceeding wise young man; for it was he that first formed axes, and invented beads, and cloth, and looking-glasses. The young man called Toobó acted

* The following story is, as nearly as possible, a *literal* translation of the language in which they tell it.

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very differently, being very indolent, sauntering about and sleeping, and envying very much the works of his brother. Tired at length with begging his goods, he bethought himself to kill him, but concealed his wicked intentions. He accordingly met his brother walking, and struck him till he was dead. At that time their father came from Bolotoo with exceeding great anger, and asked him, "Why have you killed your brother; could not you work like him? Oh, thou wicked one, begone! Go with my commands to the family of Váca-aców-óoli, tell them to come hither. Being accordingly come, Tangaloa straightway ordered them thus: "Put your canoes to sea and sail to the east, to the great land which is there, and take up your abode there. Be your skins white like your minds, for your minds are pure. You shall be wise, making axes and all riches whatsoever, and shall have large canoes. I will go myself and command the wind to blow from your land to Tonga; but they (the Tonga people) shall not be able to go to you with their bad canoes."

Tangaloa then spoke thus to the others: "You shall be black, because your minds are bad, and shall be destitute. You shall not be wise in useful things, neither shall you go to the great land of your brothers. How can you go with your bad canoes? But your brothers

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shall come to Tonga, and trade with you as they please."

Mr. Mariner took particular pains to make inquiries respecting the above extraordinary story, with a view to discover whether it was only a corrupted relation of the Mosaic account, and he found that it was not universally known to the Tonga people. Most of the chiefs and *matabooles* were acquainted with it, but the bulk of the people were totally ignorant of it. This led him, at first, to suspect that the chiefs had obtained the leading facts from some of our modern missionaries, and had interwoven it with their own notions: but the oldest men affirmed their positive belief that it was an ancient traditionary record, and that it was founded in truth. It seems strange that they should believe an account which serves so much to degrade them, and makes even their very chiefs to be descendants of bad men, cursed by their father with the evils of poverty and ignorance. Nevertheless they readily own the superiority of *Papalangies* (*i. e.* the Europeans or white people), not only in knowledge, but disposition to do good: but, on the other hand, they do not as readily confess themselves to lie under a malediction. On the contrary, they maintain that they are far superior to us in personal beauty; and though we have more instruments

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and riches, they think that they could make a better use of them if they only had them in their possession. Of the chiefs and *mataboolës* who related the foregoing account, some believed it firmly, others left it as they found it, none positively disbelieved it. Mr. Mariner related to them our scriptural and traditionary account of Cain and Abel, and expressed his opinion that they must have received their information either from the missionaries or from some *Papalangi* at an early period, whom accident had thrown among them: but some still persisted that it was an original tradition of their own; whilst others owned there was so great a similarity between the two accounts, that they were disposed to believe they had received theirs from us, perhaps two, or three, or four generations back. But such things do not very often form a subject of conversation among them; consequently their knowledge and belief of these matters (as they have no writings) become very vague, incongruous, and uncertain.

The account that is more universally known and believed, which is the least inconsistent with their general notions, and probably the most ancient, is the following.

At a time when the islands of Tonga were already existing, but not yet peopled with intel-

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ligent beings, some of the minor gods of Bolotoo being desirous to see the new world (which Tangaloa had fished up), put to sea, about two hundred in number, male and female, in a large canoe, and arrived at the island of Tonga. They were so well pleased with the novelty of the place that they determined to remain there, and accordingly broke up their canoe to make small ones of it. But in a few days two or three of them died. This phenomenon alarmed all the rest; for decay and death was what their notion of their own immortality did not lead them to expect. About this time one of them felt himself strangely affected, and by this he knew that one of the superior gods was coming from Bolotoo to inspire him. In a little time he was actually inspired, and was told that the chief god had decreed that, as they had come to Tonga, and had breathed the air of the place, and had fed upon the produce of the place, they should become mortal, and people the world with mortal beings, and all about them should be *méa mámá*.* Upon this they were all exceedingly grieved, and were sorry they had broken up their canoe. But they made another, and some of them put to sea, with the

* Things of this world, subject to decay and death; in contradistinction to *méa hotoóa*, things of the other world (Bolotoo), or land of *hotóoa*, immortal and always flourishing.

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hope of regaining the island of Bolotoo; in which endeavour if they succeeded, they were to come back and fetch their companions: but they looked in vain for the land of the gods, and were obliged to return sorely afflicted to Tonga.

MORALS OF THE PEOPLE OF TONGA.

The Tonga people do not believe in any future state of rewards and punishment; but they believe in that first of all religious tenets, that there is a power and intelligence superior to all that is human, which is able to control their actions, and which discovers all their most secret thoughts: and though they consider this power and intelligence to be inherent in a number of individual beings, the principle of belief is precisely the same; it is perhaps equally strong, and as practically useful, as if they considered it all concentrated in their chief god. They firmly believe that the gods approve of virtue and are displeased with vice; that every man has his tutelar deity, who will protect him as long as he conducts himself as he ought to do; but if he does not, will leave him to approaches of misfortune, disease, and death. And here we find some ground on which to establish a virtuous line of conduct: but this is not sufficient. There is implanted in the human breast a knowledge or sentiment, which

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enables us sometimes, if not always, to distinguish between the beauty of disinterestedness and the foul ugliness of what is low, sordid, and selfish: and the effect of this sentiment is one of the strongest marks of character in the natives of these islands. Many of the chiefs, on being asked by Mr. Mariner what motives they had for conducting themselves with propriety besides the fear of misfortunes in this life, replied, "the agreeable and happy feelings which a man experiences within himself when he does any good action, or conducts himself nobly and generously, as a man ought to do:" and this question they answered as if they wondered that such a question should be asked. After this we cannot but suppose (unless we are led by prejudice) that the seeds of very great virtues are implanted in their breasts; and it would be very unreasonable to imagine, that there are not many of the natives in whom these seeds germinate, grow up, and flourish to a very great extent; and if so, they cannot but be universally approved of and admired. If we wish for an example of these sentiments, we have one in the character of the noble Tooleó Neuha, who lived as a great chief ought to do, and died like a good man. It is true he killed Toogoo Ahoo; but a native would observe, that in doing it he freed Tonga from the dominion of an oppressive

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and cruel tyrant. After that period he remained a faithful tributary chief to his brother, the king; and when he was told that his brother was concerned in plotting his assassination, and that it would be better for him always to go armed, his disinterested reply was, "that if his life was of no use to the king, he was ready to die, and that he would not arm himself against him, as long as the country was well governed." He afterwards associated with his secret enemies without arms, and when the first unkind blow was given, his only exclamation was addressed pathetically to his brother, thus: "Oh! Finow, am I to be killed?" He said no more; but instinctively parrying off the blows with his arms till they were both broken, he received them on his head, and fell a prostrate victim to the malice of his enemies.

Mr. Mariner with four Indian warriors was flying from a large party of the enemy, when on a sudden he fell into a deep hole. His fate now seemed certain; the enemy would have gloried in killing him, for they had not forgotten the guns: but his four faithful companions exclaimed, "Let us stop for the *Papalangi!*" Three defended the ground with their clubs while one helped him out, and one of the three was killed in the act of defence. These four men might have run off without risking their lives,

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but they were possessed of better sentiments: "Let us stop for the *Papalangi!*" They did stop, and they saved him.

In such a kind of mind as we have been describing, we may readily suppose that the sentiments of veneration and respect are felt to a considerable degree; and, accordingly, every mark of such sentiments is shewn to the gods, to chiefs, and aged persons.

There is no necessity to dwell upon the respect that is universally paid to chiefs, for it forms the stable basis of their government, and of course cannot be allowed to be infringed upon. It is, in short, a superior sacred duty, the non-fulfilment of which, it is supposed, the gods would punish almost as severely as disrespect to themselves. The great veneration which they pay to aged persons is a very amiable trait in their character, and though it is now kept up by old habit and custom, it must no doubt have arisen in the beginning from notions which would do honour to the most civilized people; for it is not only to those who are old, both in years and wisdom, that such respect is paid, but every aged man and aged woman enjoys the attention and services of the younger branches of society. Great love and respect for parents is another prominent mark of their character; and indeed it must be, so as it arises

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out of a two-fold motive, *i. e.* they pay respect on the score of parentage and on that of superior chiefship or rank. Every chief also pays the greatest respect towards his eldest sister, which respect he shews in an odd way, but it is according to custom, *viz.* by never entering into the house where she resides; but upon what exact principle, except custom, Mr. Mariner has not satisfactorily learned.

Finow Fejee, on the death of his brother, might easily have made himself king, for his party was exceedingly powerful, and heartly wished him to take the supreme command; but he was a man of too much honour to rob his nephew of his right.

If a man goes to another island, the chief of which during his visit makes war with all the island from which he comes, he is bound in honour to side with the chief on whose island he is: and this point of honour, except on extraordinary occasions, is faithfully kept Thus Finow Fejee was at Vavaoo when his brother the king waged war with that island, and honour binding him, he remained in the service of Toeé Oomoo, directing his hostilities chiefly against Toobo Toa and those men who were the actual assassinators of Toobo Neuha. These different instances (and many others might be mentioned) are not only to a certain degree ho-

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nourable in themselves, but are universally considered so by the natives. Thus we must not deny that they feel the principle of honour, and practise it to a certain extent. But then what shall we say on the other side of the question? How can we excuse the capture of the *Port au Prince*, and the atrocious circumstances attending it? the assassination of Toobó Neuha? the treachery of Tarky, chief of the garrison of Bea? But what stands forward, both prominent and glaring, and the truth of which their own confession establishes, is the serious design they entertained of assassinating Captain Cook and his officers off Lefroga, the 18th of May 1777, and putting to death their acknowledged great and good benefactor.

If we were to measure their conduct by the notions of virtue, honour, and humanity received among enlightened nations, we should do them great wrong, and forfeit our own titles to the epithet of just and honourable; we shall, therefore, endeavour to ascertain in what *their* notions of honour consist, and judge them upon their own principles. Their ideas of honour and justice do not very much differ from ours, except in degree, they considering some things more honourable than we should, and others much less so. But they have one principle which, to a greater or less extent, is universally

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held among them; which is, that it is every man's duty to obey the orders of his superior chief in all instances, good or bad: unless it be to fight against a chief still superior, and even in this case it would not be actually dishonourable. If a chief, therefore, designs to assassinate another, it is the duty of his men to assist him to the utmost of their power, whether they think it right or not. If two or three combine together to take a ship, they may depend upon their men's readiness as a point of duty to execute their intentions: and if they are ordered to kill every man on board, they will most assuredly do it if they possibly can; if they are desired to save every man's life, they will equally obey the order, by merely endeavouring to secure them, though perhaps at the risk of their own lives. Thus the crime of one man will appear to us Europeans to be extended to two or three hundred, although these perhaps may be only the unwilling instruments: obedient, because it is their duty to be so. But let the matter rest here for a moment, whilst we endeavour to examine the degree of crime of which the chief is guilty who is at the head of the conspiracy. In the first place, his own opinion and that of his countrymen is, that it is no crime at all: that is to say, it is not what the gods will punish him for. He will, however, candidly

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acknowledge it to be wrong; he will say he took the ship because Tonga being a poor country, was in want of many useful things, which he supposed were in great plenty on board, and that he killed the crew that he might better effect his object. Taking the ship he will call an act of ungenerous oppression; killing the men, an act of harshness. But he will add, "how could it be helped? we would have saved the men if we could, but we did not dare to do it for our own safety. But (supposing the chief addressing himself to Mr. Mariner in reference to the *Port au Prince*) "we might also have killed you and your surviving companions, as we were advised, lest the next ship, hearing from you what had been done, might take revenge: but we have so good an opinion of the clemency and humanity of the *Papalangies*, that we trust they will not take revenge, we will therefore treat you well, and abide by the result."

Respect to Females.—Women have considerable respect shewn to them on account of their sex, independent of the rank they might otherwise hold as nobles. They are considered to contribute much to the comforts and domestic happiness of the other sex; and as they are weaker of the two, it is thought unmanly not to shew them attention and kind regard; they

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are, therefore, not subjected to hard labour, or any other menial work.

Those that are nobles, rank, like the men, according to the superiority of their relationship. If a woman not a noble is the wife or daughter of a *mataboole*, she ranks as a *mataboole*; if she be a noble, she is superior in rank to him, and so are the children male and female; but in domestic affairs she submits entirely to his arrangements. Notwithstanding this, however, she never loses the respect from her husband due to her rank: that is to say, he is obliged to perform the ceremony of *móë-móë* before he can feed himself.

Love of Children.—It is a custom in the Tonga Islands for women to be what they call mothers to children or grown-up young persons who are not their own, for the purpose of providing them, or seeing that they are provided, with all the conveniences of life; and this is often done although their own natural mothers be living, and residing near the spot. Mafi Habe,* one of the wives of Finow the first, the father of the present king, was Mr. Mariner's foster-mother, appointed by the king her husband. To this person Mr. Mariner feels himself greatly indebted for a considerable portion of his intimate knowledge of the language and true customs of

* Or Maffey Happay.

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Tonga, in contradistinction to words and customs introduced from other islands. She would frequently take the greatest pains in teaching him the correct Tonga pronunciation, and would laugh him out of all little habits and customs in dress, manners, and conversation, that were not strictly according to the Tonga fashion, or not considered sufficiently polished and becoming an *egi* (noble). In all respects, and on every occasion, she conducted herself towards him with the greatest maternal affection, modesty, and propriety. She was a woman of great understanding, personal beauty, and amiable manners.

If a young girl is betrothed, or set apart to be the wife or concubine of a noble higher in rank than herself, she derives more respect on that account, independent of what is due to her own proper rank.

Theft is considered by them an act of meanness rather than a crime; and although some of the chiefs themselves have been known to be guilty of it on board ship, it is nevertheless not approved of. Their excuse is, the strength of the temptation; the chiefs that would do it are, however, very few.

Aversion to Scandal.—As being closely allied with principles of honour and justice, we shall now examine the character of this people as it regards their opinion of one another: and here

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we shall find something greatly to admire and much to be approved of. While *we* accuse them of treachery and cruelty, *they* as loudly cry out that we are calumniators and detractors; for no bad moral habit appears to a native of Tonga more ridiculous, depraved, and unjust, than publishing the faults of one's acquaintances and friends; for while it answers no profitable purpose, it does a great deal of mischief to the party who suffers: and as to downright calumny or *false* accusation, it appears to them more horrible than deliberate murder does to us; for it is better, they think, to assassinate a man's person than to attack his reputation.

Considering the women generally, they are exceedingly humane and considerate; and though in their talkativeness, as in other parts of the world, they naturally speak of one another's faults, it is usually of such as are of a trifling nature, and without any malice, being mostly in the way of humour or joke. As to considerable faults, such as a woman's infidelity to her husband, it would remain as much a secret with any of their own sex (if they accidentally knew it) as it possibly could with herself. Quarrels among the women are very rare.

Chastity and Continence.—In the first place it is universally considered a positive duty in every married woman to remain true to her husband.

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What we mean by a married woman is, one who cohabits with a man, and lives under his roof and protection, holding an establishment of him. A woman's marriage is frequently independent of her consent, she having been betrothed by her parents at an early age to some chief, *mataboole*, or *mooa*. Perhaps about one-third of the married women have been thus betrothed: the remaining two-thirds have married with their free consent. Every married woman must remain with her husband, whether she choose it or not, until he please to divorce her. Mr. Mariner thinks that about two-thirds of the women are married; and of this number full half remain with their husbands till death separates them; that is to say, full one-third of the female population remained married till either themselves or their husbands die. The remaining two-thirds are married and are soon divorced, and are married again, perhaps three, four, or five times in their lives; with the exception of a few who, from whim or some accidental cause, are never married: so that about one-third of the whole female population, as before stated, are at any given point of time unmarried.

With such opportunities of knowing the habits of the natives relative to the subject in question, Mr. Mariner is decidedly of opinion that infide-

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lity among the married women is comparatively very rare. He only recollects three successful instances of planned intrigue during the whole of his time: one at the Hapai Islands, on the part of Voogi, who was considered the handsomest man at the Tonga Islands; and two on the part of the present king, whose high rank and authority must, on the one hand, render his attentions flattering to the women, whilst on the other it may be supposed to excite a little apprehension of the consequences of a refusal.

From the above investigation, we think it would but be giving a fair specimen of the reputation of the married women to say, that they are not only circumspect in conduct, but chaste in principle.

If a man divorces his wife, which is attended with no other ceremony than just telling her that she may go, she becomes perfect mistress of her own conduct, and may marry again; which is often done a few days afterwards, without the least disparagement to her character; or, if she chooses, she may remain single and admit a lover occasionally, or may cohabit with her lover for a time and remain at his house, without being considered his wife, having no particular charge of his domestic concerns, and may leave him when she pleases;

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and this she may also do without the least reproach or the least secrecy.

As to those women who are not actually married, they may bestow those favours upon whomsoever they please without any opprobrium. It must not, however, be supposed that these women are always easily won; the greatest attentions and most fervent solicitations are sometimes requisite, even though there be no other lover in the way. This happens sometimes from a spirit of coquetry, at other times from a dislike to the party, &c. It is thought shameful for a woman *frequently* to change her lover. Great presents are by no means certain methods of gaining her favours, and consequently they are more frequently made afterwards than before. Gross prostitution is not known among them.

In regard to the habits of the men in this respect, it must in the first place be observed, that no man is understood to be bound to conjugal fidelity. It is no reproach to him to intermix his amours; though if a married man does this to excess, it is thought inconsistent. Notwithstanding this liberty of conduct, however, most of the married men are tolerably true to their wives; and when they have any other amour, it is kept a secret from the wife, not out of any fear or apprehension, but because it is

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unnecessary to excite her jealousy, and make her perhaps unhappy.

When all things are taken into consideration regarding the connubial system of these people, their notions of chastity, and their habits in respect to it, we shall have no reason to say but what they keep tolerably well within those bounds which honour and decency dictate; and if it be asked what effect this system has upon the welfare and happiness of society, it may be safely answered, that there is not the least appearance of any *bad* effect.

The women are very tender, kind mothers, and the children are taken exceeding good care of; for even in case of a divorce, the children of any age (requiring parental care) go with the mother, it being considered her province to superintend their welfare till they grow up: and there is never any dispute upon this subject. Both sexes appear contented and happy in their relations to each other.

RELIGIOUS CEREMONIES.

As attention to religious ceremonies forms an important feature in the character of the Tonga people, and as they consider any neglect in this respect would amount to a crime that the gods would punish with the most severe temporal inflictions, it becomes necessary to give a par-

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ticular account of them. The punishments which they consider themselves liable to for disrespect to the gods and neglect of religious rights, are chiefly conspiracies, wars, famine, and epidemic diseases, as public calamities; and sickness and premature death, as punishments for the offences of individuals: and these evils, whenever they happen, are supposed to proceed immediately from the gods as visitations for their crimes.

Drinking of Cava.—In Mr. Mariner's voyage we have the following account of the drinking of *cava*, the juice of an intoxicating plant of an unpleasant taste, producing an effect like opium.

There is no public religious rite whatsoever, and scarcely any in private, but of which the ceremony of drinking *cava* forms an important, or at least a usual part; for which reason, although *cava* is taken on other occasions several times daily, we shall endeavour to give a full description of its preparation and form of taking, before we proceed to those ceremonies which are more strictly religious.

The root which they term *cava*, and by which name the plant producing it is also called, belongs to a species of the pepper-plant. It is known by the same name at the *Feejee Islands*;*

* It is there called *angona*.

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but at the Navigators' Islands (which the Tonga people also visit), at the Society Islands, and the Sandwich Islands, it is universally called *uva.* At all these places it is used for the same or similar purposes.

The state in which it is taken is that of infusion. It is drank every day by chiefs, *matabooles*, and others, as a luxury. The form of preparing and serving it out is the same, whether at a large party or a small one. The greatest order is observed during the whole time, and the rank of persons is particularly attended to. At all *cava*, persons' provisions are also shared out; but the habitual *cava* drinkers seldom eat more than a *mouthful;* and this they do to prevent the infusion, when drunk in large quantities, from affecting the stomach with nausea. But there are a few who even use this precaution.*

The root is split up with an axe, or any such instrument, into small pieces, by the man who is to mix the *cava* and those about him; and being thus sufficiently divided and scraped clean with muscle-shells, &c., it is handed out to those sitting in the inferior and exterior circle to be chewed. There is now heard an universal buz throughout this part of the company, which

* At Otaheite the people drink it in the morning while fasting, but eat along with it, saying that food improves the effect.

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forms a curious contrast to the silence that reigned before, several crying out from all quarters, *my ma cava*; *my ma cava*; *my he cava*, 'give me some cava, give me cava, some cava;' each of those who intend to chew it crying out for some to be handed to them. No one offers to chew the cava but young persons who have good teeth, clean mouths, and have no colds. Women frequently assist. It is astonishing how remarkably dry they preserve the root while it is undergoing this progress of mastication. In about two minutes, each person having chewed his quantity, takes it out of his mouth with his hand, and puts it on a piece of plantain or banana-leaf, or sometimes he raises the leaf to his mouth and puts it off his tongue, in the form of a ball of tolerable consistence (particularly if it is dry *cava* root). The different portions of cava being now all chewed, which is known by the silence that ensues, nobody calling for any, some one takes the wooden bowl * from the exterior circle, and places it on the ground before the man who is to make the infusion. In the meanwhile, each person who sits at any distance from the inferior circle passes on his portion of chewed root; so that it is conveyed from one to another, till it is received by three

* The bowl used at a large party is about three feet in diameter, and about one foot in depth in the centre.

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or four persons who are actively engaged in the front of the inferior circle, going from one side to the other collecting it, and depositing it in the wooden bowl. It is not, however, thrown in promiscuously, but in such a way that each portion is distinct and separate from the rest, till at length the whole inside of the vessel becomes thickly studded, beginning at the bottom and going up on every side towards the edges. This is done that a judgment may afterwards be formed of the quantity of beverage that it will make. As each portion is disengaged from its leaf, the leaf is thrown any where on the ground.

The *cava* being thus deposited in the bowl, those persons who had been busy collecting it retire to their places and sit down. The man before whom the bowl is placed now tilts it up a little towards the chief, that he may see the quantity of its contents, saying *coe cava heni gooa ma*, 'this is the cava chewed.' If the chief (having consulted the *mataboole*) thinks there is not enough, he says, *oofi, oofi, bea how he tangáta*, 'cover it over and let there come a man here.' The bowl is then covered over with a plantain or a banana leaf, and a man goes to the same presiding *mataboole* to receive more *cava* root to be chewed as before; but if it is thought there is a sufficiency, he says *paloo* 'mix.' The

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two men who sit one on each side of him, who are to prepare the *cava*, now come forward a little, and making a half turn, sit opposite to each other, the bowl being between them. One of these fans off the flies with a large leaf, while the other sits ready to pour in the water from cocoa-nut shells, one at a time. Before this is done, however, the man who is about to mix, having first rinced his hands with a little of the water, kneads together (the *mataboole* having said *paloo*) the chewed root, gathering it up from all sides of the bowl, and compressing it together. Upon this, the *mataboole* says *lingi he vy*, 'pour in the water;' and the man on one side of the bowl continues pouring, fresh shells being handed to him until the *mataboole* thinks there is sufficient, which he announces by saying *mow he vy*, 'stop the water.' He now discontinues pouring, and takes up a leaf to assist the other in fanning. The *mataboole* now says, *paloo ger tattow bea fucca mow*, 'mix it every where equally and make it firm,' *i. e.* bring the dregs together in a body.

Things being thus far prepared, the *mataboole* says, *y he fow*, 'put in the fow.' A large quantity of this fibrous substance, sufficient to cover the whole surface of the infusion, is now put in by one of those who sit by the side of the bowl, and it floats upon the surface. The man

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who manages the bowl now begins his difficult operation. In the first place he extends his left hand to the further side of the bowl, with the fingers pointing downwards and the palm towards himself: he sinks that hand carefully down the side of the bowl, carrying with it the edge of the *fow;* at the same time his right hand is performing a similar operation at the side next to him, the fingers pointing downwards and the palm presenting outwards. He does this slowly from side to side, gradually descending deeper and deeper, till his fingers meet each other at the bottom, so that nearly the whole of the fibres of the root are by these means enclosed in the *fow*, forming as it were a roll of above two feet in length lying along the bottom from side to side, the edges of the *fow* meeting each other underneath. He now carefully rolls it over, so that the edges overlapping each other, or rather intermingling, come uppermost. He next doubles in the two ends and rolls it carefully over again, endeavouring to reduce it to a narrower and firmer compass. He now brings it cautiously out of the fluid, taking firm hold of it by the two ends one in each hand (the back of the hands being upwards), and raising it breast high with his arms considerably extended, he brings his right hand towards his breast, moving it gradually onwards; and whilst

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his left hand is coming round towards his right shoulder, his right hand partially twisting the *fow*, lays the end which it holds upon the left elbow, so that the *fow* lies thus extended upon that arm, one end being still grasped by the left hand. The right hand being now at liberty, is brought under the left fore arm (which still remains in the same situation), and carried outwardly towards the left elbow, that it may again seize in that situation the end of the *fow*. The right hand then describes a bold curve outwardly from the chest, whilst the left comes across the chest, describing a curve nearer to him and in the opposite direction, till at length the left hand is extended from him and the right approaches to the left shoulder, gradually twisting the *fow* by the turn and flexures principally of that wrist. This double motion is then retraced, but in such a way (the left wrist now principally acting) that the *fow* instead of being untwisted, is still more twisted, and is at length again placed upon the left arm, while he takes a new turn and less constrained hold. Thus the hands and arms perform a variety of curves of the most graceful description. The muscles both of the arms and chest are seen rising as they are called into action, displaying what would be a fine and uncommon subject of study for the painter, for no combination of

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animal action can develop the swell and play of the muscles with more grace and with better effect. The degree of strength which he exerts when there is a large quantity is very great, and the dexterity with which he accomplishes the whole, never fails to excite the attention and admiration of all present. Every tongue is mute and every eye is upon him, watching each motion of his arms as they describe the various curvilinear turns essential to the success of the operation. Sometimes the fibres of the *fow* are heard to crack with the increasing tension, yet the mass is seen whole and entire, becoming more thin as it becomes more twisted, while the infusion drains from it in a regularly decreasing quantity, till at length it denies a single drop. He now gives it to a person on his left side, and receives fresh *fow* from another in attendance on his right, and begins the operation anew, with a view to collect what before might have escaped him; and so on even a third time, till no dregs are left, save what are so fine and so equally diffused through the whole liquid as not to be thus separated.

During the above operation, various people in the exterior circle are employed making cava-cups of the unexpanded leaf of the banana tree, which is cut into lengths of about nine inches. Each piece being then unfolded, is nearly square.

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The two ends are next plaited up in a particular manner, and tied with a fibre of the stem of the leaf, forming a very elegant cup, not unworthy of imitation.

In the meanwhile also the *fono*, or provisions to be eaten with the *cava*, is also shared out. This generally consists of yams, ripe bananas, or plantains, in sufficient quantity that each in the superior circle may have a small portion to eat after his dish of *cava*.

The infusion of *cava* being now strained, the performance of which generally occupies about a quarter of an hour or twenty minutes, the man at the bowl calls out *gooa ma he cavdne*, 'the cava is clear.' The *mataboole* replies, *fucca tow* 'squeeze out,' alluding to the peculiar operation of filling the cups. Two or three from the inferior or exterior circle now come forward and sit down near the bowl, bringing with them and placing on the ground several of the cups. One then rises and holds with both hands a cup to be filled, standing a little on one side and holding the cup over the middle of the bowl, so that his body does not obstruct the view of those at the top of the superior circle. The man who manages the bowl fills the cup by dipping in a portion of *fow* rolled together, and which when replete with the liquid he holds over the cup, compressing it so that the infusion

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falls into it, to the quantity of about a third of a pint. The one who has the cup now turns and stands a little on one side with his face towards the chief: at the same time one of those who have been described sitting by the side of the bowl, and employed fanning it, cries out with a loud voice, *cava gooa heca*, 'the cava is deposited' (*i. e.* in the cup). The *mataboole* replies *angi ma*, 'give it to —' naming the party who is to have it; who hearing his name announced, claps the hollow part of his hands together twice (unless it be the presiding chief), to signify where about he is seated. The cup-bearer then advances and presents it standing: unless it be a great chief at Tooitonga's cava party, when he presents it sitting.

We must now describe the order in which the different individuals in the company are served, which is a most important part of the ceremony, and requires all the attention of the presiding *mataboole*. It must be noticed as a general rule, that the chief at the head of the circle receives either the first or the third cup: the third cup, however, is properly his due. The first, according to old established custom, the *mataboole* orders to be given to his fellow *mataboole* on the other side of the chief, unless there be a chief or *mataboole* from another island in company, it is then given to him as being a visitor. If

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there be a person in the circle who has made a present of the *cava*, the first cup is given in compliment to him.

At large cava parties, very few, in proportion to the immense multitude present, get served with this infusion. But there must always be enough for the superior circle and for their relations, who may be either in the inferior or exterior: which latter, who for reasons before given do not sit in the upper circle, are served nevertheless in the order of their rank or nearly so.

Ceremony of Máchi.—This word means literally a share or portion of any thing that is to be or has been distributed out: but in the sense here mentioned, it means that portion of the fruits of the earth, and other eatables, which is offered to the gods in the person of the divine chief Tooitonga; which allotment is made once just before the yams in general are arrived at a state of maturity, those which are used in this ceremony being of a kind which admit of being planted sooner than others, and consequently they are the first-fruits of the yam season. The object of this offering is to insure the protection of the gods, that their favour may be extended to the welfare of the nation generally, and in particular to the productions of the earth, of which yams are one of the most important.

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The time for planting most kind of yams is about the latter end of July; but the species called *cá-ho-cá-ho,* which is always used in this ceremony, is put in the ground about a month before, when on each plantation there is a small piece of land chosen and fenced in for the purpose of growing a couple of yams of the above description.

SACRIFICES.

Nawgia is the ceremony of strangling children as sacrifices to the gods, for the recovery of a sick relation. An instance is recorded when for the murder of a chief, the priest declared that it was necessary a child should be strangled to appease the anger of the gods. The chiefs then held a consultation, and came to the determination of sacrificing a child of Toobo Toa by one of his female attendants. Toobo Toa was present, and gave his consent that his child (about two years old) should be immolated, to appease the anger of the gods, and turn aside their vengeance for the sacriligeous crime committed. The child was accordingly sought for: but its mother, thinking *her* child might be demanded, had concealed it. Being at length found by one of the men who were in search of it, he took it up in his arms, smiling with delight at being taken notice of. Its poor mother wanted to follow, but was held back by those

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about her. On hearing its mother's voice it began to cry; but when it arrived at the fatal place of its execution, it was pleased and delighted with the band of *gnatoo* that was put round its neck, and looking up in the face of the man who was about to destroy it, displayed in its beautiful countenance a smile of ineffable pleasure. Such a sight inspired pity in the breast of every one; but fear, and veneration for the gods, was a sentiment superior to every other, and its destroyer could not help exclaiming, as he put on the fatal bandage, *Oyaooé chi vale!* ('poor little innocent!') Two men then tightened the cord by pulling at each end, and the guiltless and unsuspecting victim was soon relieved of its painful struggles. The body was then placed upon a sort of hand-barrow supported upon the shoulders of four men, and carried in a procession of priests, chiefs, and *matabooles*, clothed in mats, with wreaths of green leaves round their necks. In this manner it was conveyed to various houses consecrated to different gods, before each of which it was placed on the ground, all the company sitting behind it, except one priest, who sat beside it, and prayed aloud to the god that he would be pleased to accept of this sacrifice as an atonement for the heinous sacrilege committed, and that punishment might accordingly be withheld

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from the people. All this was done before each of the consecrated houses in the fortress, and the body was then given up to its relations, to be buried in the usual manner.

The ceremony of *nawgia* (or strangling)u sed to be performed upon the chief widow of Tooi-tonga, on the day of her husband's burial, that she might be interred with him. Two Tooitongas were buried during Mr. Mariner's time; one on his first arrival, and the other (*i. e.* the last) a few months before he came away. The first of these two, however, had no chief wife, *i. e.* he had no wife at all, or else none that was of so high a rank as to take the charge of his household, and be the mistress over the others: consequently after his death no such ceremony was performed. The last Toointonga's wife (the daughter of the late king, and sister of the present) was not subjected to this inhuman rite, thanks to the good sense of the late and present king. When old Finow was living, he used to say that if Tooitonga died before his wife, she should not be strangled. "What," said he, "is the use of destroying a young and beautiful woman? Who is there dare say that the gods are merciless and cruel? My daughter shall not be strangled."

Tootoo-nima, or cutting off a portion of the little finger, as a sacrifice to the gods for the

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recovery of a superior sick relation. This is very commonly done, so that there is scarcely a person living at the Tonga islands but who has lost one or both, or a considerable portion of both little fingers. Those who can have but few superior relations, such as those near akin to Tooitonga, or the king, or Veachi, have some chance of escaping if their relations are tolerably healthy. It does not appear that the operation is painful. Mr. Mariner has witnessed more than once, little children quarrelling for the honour (or rather out of bravado) of having it done. The finger is laid flat upon a block of wood, a knife, axe, or sharp stone is placed with the edge upon the line of proposed separation, and a powerful blow being given with a mallet or large stone, the operation is finished.

Toótoo is burning the body in spots with lighted rolls of *tápa*.

Láfa, burning the arm in about six places, each in form of five or six eccentric circles.

Toogi, beating the cheeks and rubbing off the cuticle with cocoa-nut husk, or some sort of plait wound round the hand.

Foa ooloo, wounding the head and cutting the flesh in various parts with knives, shells, clubs, spears, &c., in honour of the deceased, and as a testimony of respect for his memory and fidelity to his family.

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There is one remark, nevertheless, to be made in respect to the four last, particularly *foa ooloo*, which appears, however inhuman, to be a very ancient and long-established custom in the history of mankind. On turning to Leviticus, xx, 28, we find this command: "Ye shall not make any cuttings in your flesh for the dead, nor print any marks upon you."

FUNERAL CEREMONIES FOR TOOITONGA.

Soon after dark, certain persons stationed at the grave begin to sound the conch, while others chaunt a sort of song, or rather a piece of recitative. While this is going on, a number of men in the neighbourhood are ready to come to the grave, to perform a part of the ceremony which the reader will not think altogether consonant to the high character for cleanliness which we have given. It must be considered, however, a religious rite, standing upon the foundation of very ancient customs. These men, about sixty in number, assemble before the grave and wait further orders. The chaunting being finished, and the conchs having ceased to blow, one of the mourners comes forward, seats herself outside the *fytoca*, and addresses the people thus: "Men! ye are gathered here to perform the duty appointed on you: bear up, and let not your exertions be

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wanting to accomplish the work." Having said this, she retires into the *fytoca*. The men now approach the mount (it being dark), and (if the phrase be allowable) perform the devotions to *Cloacina*, after which they retire. As soon as it is daylight the following morning, the women of the first rank (wives and daughters of the greatest chiefs) assemble with their female attendants, bringing baskets, one holding one side and one the other, advancing two and two, with large shells to clear up the depositions of the preceding night: and in this ceremonious act of humility no female of the highest consequence refuses to take her part. Some of the mourners in the *fytoca* generally come out to assist, so that in a very little while the place is made perfectly clean. This is repeated the fourteen following nights, and as punctually cleaned away by sunrise every morning. No persons but the agents are allowed to be witnesses of these extraordinary ceremonies: at least it would be considered highly indecorous and irreligious to be so. On the sixteenth day, early in the morning, the same females again assemble; but now they are dressed up in the finest *gnatoo* and most beautiful Hamoa mats, decorated with ribbons and with wreaths of flowers round their necks: they also bring new baskets ornamented with flowers, and little

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brooms very tastefully made. Thus equipped, they approach and act as if they had the same task to do as before, pretending to clear away the dirt, though no dirt is now there, and take it away in their baskets. They then return to the *mooa*, and resume their mourning mats and leaves of the *ifi* tree. Such are the transactions of the fifteen days, every day the ceremony of the burning torches being also repeated. The natives themselves used to regret that the filthy part of these ceremonies was necessary to be performed, to demonstrate their great veneration for the high character of Tooitonga, and that it was the duty of the most exalted nobles, even of the most delicate females of rank, to perform the meanest and most disgusting office, rather than the sacred grounds in which he was buried should remain polluted.

Táboo.—This word has various shades of signification. It means sacred or consecrated to a god, having the same signification as *fucca-egi*; it means prohibited or forbidden, and is applied not only to the thing prohibited but to the prohibition itself, and frequently (when it is in sacred matters) to the person who breaks the prohibition. Thus if a piece of ground or a house be consecrated to a god by express declaration, or the burial of a great chief, it is said to be *táboo*. The like if a canoe be consecrated,

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which is frequently done that it may be more safe in long voyages, &c. As it is forbidden to quarrel or fight upon consecrated ground, so fighting in such a place would be said to be *táboo*, and those that fought would be said also to be *táboo*; and a man who is thus *táboo* would have to make some sacrifice to the gods as an atonement for the sacrilege. If any one touches a superior chief or superior relation, or any thing immediately belonging to him, he *táboos* himself; but this is not supposed to produce any bad consequence, unless he feeds himself with his own hand, without first removing this *táboo*, which is to be done by performing the ceremony of *móë-móë*, directly to be explained. If a person touches the body of a dead chief, or any thing personally belonging to him, he becomes *táboo*, and time alone can relieve him. Certain kinds of food, as turtle and a certain species of fish, from something in their nature are said to be *táboo*, and must not be eaten until a small portion be first given to the gods. Any other kind of food may be rendered *táboo* by a prohibition being laid on it. Fruits and flowers when *tábooed*, are generally marked to be so by pieces of white *tapa*, or a piece of plait, in the shape of a lizard or shark. To prevent certain kinds of food from growing scarce, a prohibition or *táboo* is set on them for a time: as after the

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máchi, or other great and repeated ceremonies, and which *táboo* is afterwards removed by the ceremony called *fúccaldhi.*

When a person is *tábooed* by touching a superior chief or relation, or any thing personally belonging to him, he will perform the ceremony of *möë-möë* before he will dare feed himself with his own hands. This ceremony consists in touching the soles of any superior chief's feet with the hands, first applying the palm, then the back of each hand, after which the hands must be rinsed in a little water; or, if there is no water near, they may be rubbed with any part of the stem of the plantain or banana tree, the moisture of which will do instead of washin He may then feed himself without danger of any disease which would otherwise happen, as they think, from eating with *tábooed* hands; but if any one think he may have already (unknowingly) eaten with *tábooed* hands, he then sits down before the chief, and taking the foot of the latter, presses the sole of it against his own abdomen, that the food which is in him may do him no injury, and that consequently he may not swell up and die.

OMENS.

As omens, to which they give a considerable degree of credit, and charms, which they some-

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times practise, are more or less connected with their religion, we shall say something of them before concluding the present subject.

There is a certain species of bird which they call *chicotá*, which is very apt to make a sudden descent and dart close by one, making a shrieking noise. This bird they suppose to be endowed with a knowledge of futurity, and they consider this action to be a warning of some evil that is about to happen.

As Mr. Mariner was once going out with the present king and a party of men upon some excursions against the enemy, one of these birds made a sudden descent, passed over their heads, settled on a tree, passed over their heads again, and again settled: upon which the majority, not excepting the king, were for returning immediately; but Mr. Mariner laughed at their superstition, and to prove that the bird had no great insight into matters of futurity, he shot it with his musket. But, however, this did not prevent them from going back to the garrison, and several had a full conviction that Mr. Mariner would soon be killed for his sacrilege.

CURSES.

When we come to reflect that they believe in no future place of punishment, but that all human evils are the consequence of crimes, and

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that disrespect to one's superior relations is little short of sacrilege to the gods, these malevolent commands, however ridiculous some of them may appear to us, amount to the most horrible curses; for if such commands were fulfilled, nothing less than the most dreadful of human miseries would be expected to fall on the head of the sacrilegious perpetrator. But it is only when a number of curses are repeated in a string as it were, and pronounced firmly and with real malevolence, that they are supposed to have any effect: but not even then, if the party who curses is considerably lower in rank than the party cursed. When a whole string is thus uttered, it is properly called *vángi*, and is often to the amount of thirty or forty in number. Mr. Mariner has heard one consisting of eighty maledictions, all disposed in rhyme: the rhyme, however, is not necessary. For a tolerable fair sample of this wonderful charm, the following may be taken. "Dig up the bones of your father by moonlight, and make soup of his bones; bake his skin to cracknel; gnaw his bones; devour your mother; dig up your aunt and cut her to pieces; feed upon the earth of your grave; chew the heart of your grandfather; swallow the eyes of your uncle; strike your god; cut the gristly bones of your children; suck out the brains of your grand-

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mother; dress yourself up in the skin of your father, and tie it on with the entrails of your mother," &c. &c.

MEDICINE AND SURGERY.

The natives of the Sandwich Islands appear to have some knowledge of medicine; but whether from original discoveries of their own or from the information of Europeans, Mr. Mariner could not obtain any information from those natives who were with him at Vavaoo. One of these Sandwich Islanders (a petty chief) professed some knowledge of the healing art, and it so happened that Mr. Mariner was once the subject of his skill. Feeling himself much indisposed by a disordered state of the stomach and bowels, attended with head-ache and drowsiness, this Sandwich Islander proposed to give him some internal remedies; whilst a native of Tonga, on the other hand, very much wanted him to lose some blood (by scarification with shells on the arms and legs). The remedies proposed by the former were an emetic and a cathartic. The cathartic consisted chiefly of the sweet potatoe grated, and the juice of the sugar-cane; to this, however, was added the juice of some other vegetable substance, with which Mr. Mariner was not acquainted. The emetic consisted of two infusions; one of cer-

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tain leaves, and the other of a particular root, both unknown to him. The Sandwich Islander informed him that the root was necessary to counteract the effect of the leaves, which was very powerful, and might in a large dose, and without such addition, kill him. Upon this discouraging information the native of Tonga with his scarifying shells, redoubled his persuasions, ridiculed the remedies of the other, and on understanding what effect they would have, laughed most heartily at the idea of curing a sick man by means which would make a healthy man sick. The remedies of the surgeon, however, were not more agreeable than those of the physician, and the patient was at a loss to know to whose care he should entrust his health, when the latter signified his intention of taking some of his own physic, which was the best proof he could possibly give of his confidence in it. Two equal doses were accordingly prepared; the patient took one, and the doctor the other. The cathartic was first given, and the emetic about an hour afterwards. The latter operated in about another hour, and the former, in conjunction with it, in about two hours and a half. They both evinced abundant evidence of their respective properties, and the following morning Mr. Mariner found himself perfectly well: which happy result the man who wanted

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to bleed him could by no means attribute to the remedies he had taken. The Sandwich Islander, notwithstanding he was much laughed at, particularly about his cathartics, obtained at length a considerable share of credit for his skill.

No native of Tonga undertakes to practise surgery unless he has been at the Feejee Islands, where constant wars afford great opportunity of becoming skilful, and no native of Tonga would employ a surgeon who had not been thus schooled.

The three most important operations are *cawso*, or paracentesis thoracis; *tocolósi*, or an operation for the cure of tetanus, which consists in making a seton in the urethra; and *boca*, or castration.

The one we are about to describe was performed upon a Feejee islander who had received a barbed arrow in the right side, between the fifth and sixth ribs, not in a line directly below the nipple, but about an inch backwards. The arrow had broken off about three inches from the point under the third row of barbs; and from the rise and fall of the thorax in the act of respiration, the whole piece was perfectly concealed from any external view. The barbs and the point were of the same piece with the arrow.

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A countryman of the wounded man wished to perform the operation, but the patient desired that a friend of his, a native of Vavaoo, should manage it. This proved that he placed at least equal confidence in his skill as in that of his countrymen, for he had seen him perform the operation several times before at the Feejee Islands.

The patient was now lying on his back, but a little inclined to his left side; and this was considered a favourable posture for the operation. It was a fine clear day, and the weather warm; had it been rainy or cloudy, or had the patient felt himself cold, fires would have been lighted in the house, and a burning torch held to his side, to relax the integuments, and to render by such means the wound more favourable. The wound had been received the day before, and on pressing the finger upon its orifice the broken end of the arrow could not now be felt, except by the pain which such pressure gave the patient. In the first place, the operator marked with a piece of charcoal the situation and length of the intended incision, which was about two inches, the small wound made by the arrow being in the centre of it. The integuments were now drawn upwards, so that the black line lay upon and parallel with the superior rib, an assistant pressing his hand

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above and another below the situation of the intended incision, with a view to keep the integuments firm and steady. The operator having now chosen a piece of bamboo, began his incision, and carried it down to the bone, the whole length of the mark, which was done with five or six motions of the hand, aided by considerable pressure. In this part of the operation a shell could not be used, on account of its liability to break. The integuments being now allowed to return to their natural situation, the incision was cautiously continued with a splinter of shell, midway between the two ribs, dividing the intercostal muscles to nearly the same extent as the external wound, to allow of the introduction of a finger and thumb to lay hold of the arrow. During this part of the operation, however, the end of the arrow became perceptible, protruding between the costæ at every inspiration. The operator as soon as possible secured it with the finger and thumb of his left hand, whilst with his right he proceeded to widen the incision on either side, that he might take a deeper and firmer hold, and secure, if possible, the second row of barbs. To facilitate the operation, he now slipt the noose of a string over the barbs he held between his finger and thumb, and having secured which, his left hand was no longer in the way of his right, for

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by drawing the string as far as prudence would allow, he kept it prest upon the superior, and thereby preserved the arrow from receding at every respiration. The incision was now carried through the intercostal muscles and the pleura, sufficiently to allow of the introduction of the finger and thumb of the right hand, with which he endeavoured to disengage, as much as possible, what might obstruct the barbs; whilst with his left finger and thumb he laid hold of the end of the arrow, and kept gently twisting it always one way, so as to break down those obstructions which could not be removed with the other hand: taking care, however, not to use so much force as might be supposed liable to break the barbs: and in this way, in the course of two or three minutes, he withdrew the arrow, bringing with it a small portion of the substance of the lungs which could not be disengaged. During this part of the operation the patient was almost insensible. He was held by those about him, to prevent any mischief arising from his struggles, which at times were violent. The operator now carefully examined the arrow, and being satisfied that every barb (of which there were three rows) was entire, he ordered him to be gently turned on the right side, so that the wound was depending; and to make it more completely so, a quantity of *gnatoo*

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was placed under him in two situations, *viz.* under the shoulder and under the *pelvis*, in such a way, that the orifice of the wound was evidently the most depending portion of the thorax. The patient being now perfectly sensible, the operator desired him to make a full inspiration, inquiring whether it gave him much pain; and being answered that he could bear it tolerably well, he desired him to make several full inspirations from time to time, but not so as to fatigue himself, and occasionally to move his body gently: by these means a considerable quantity of blood was discharged. A few hours afterwards the operator introduced between the ribs a portion of banana leaf, smoothly folded several times, and anointed with cocoa-nut oil, as a pledget to keep open the wound. He ordered his patient to be kept perfectly quiet, not to be spoken to, no noise to be made, nor his attention to be attracted in any way; to live chiefly on vegetable diet, or if he had any kind of meat, fowl in preference to pork; or if pork, it was to be very small in quantity and without the least fat, with cocoa-nut milk for drink, in any quantity that he felt disposed to take. The first night he had a great deal of pain, much thirst, and little sleep; the following day he was much easier. A great deal of blood was found to have been discharged, and a fresh pledget was

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introduced, which was renewed every morning, as long as any discharge was apparent. When the discharge of sanguineous fluid ceased, which was in about nine or ten days, the operator introduced his probe, to be sure that the cessation of the discharge was not occasioned by any obstruction. He then contented himself with a more superficial pledget, that the external orifice might not heal too soon, and the patient was allowed to change his posture occasionally, but not for a long time together. As he grew better a little more meat was allowed him, but the use of *cava* was interdicted until he got tolerably well. The wound healed in about six weeks, without any sort of dressing or washing. The patient was confined to his house about two months, and was not perfectly recovered till near a twelvemonth, when he seemed as healthy and strong as ever, with scarcely any cough having supervened in the meanwhile. This was considered a very dangerous wound, and a very well-conducted cure. Mr. Mariner does not know that they are acquainted either with the exact situation or the existence of the interiostal arteries.

Tetanus is a disease very common among the Tonga people, but still more common among the natives of the Feejee Islands, who from their warlike habits are more frequently in the way

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of it. They adopt, however, a remedy which the Tonga people have borrowed of them, and consists in the operation of *tocolósi*, or passing a reed, first wetted with saliva, into the urethra, so as to occasion a considerable irritation and discharge of blood; and if the general spasm is very violent, they make a seton of this passage, by passing down a double thread, looped over the end of the reed; and when it is felt in the perinæum, they cut down upon it, seize hold of the thread, and withdraw the reed, so that the two ends of the thread hang from the orifice of the urethra, and the doubled part from the artificial opening in the perinæum. The thread is occasionally drawn backwards and forwards, which excites very great pain and abundant discharges of blood. The latter operation Mr. Mariner has seen performed several times, but only twice for *tetanus*, arising in both instances from wounds in the foot. In these cases the spasms, but particularly the convulsive paroxysms, were exceedingly violent, extending to the whole body, neck, face, trunk, and extremities: but in neither case was the jaw permanently locked, though on every accession it was violently closed for a few moments. A native of the Feejee Islands performed one operation,and Hala Api Api the other: they both happened at Vavaoo at different times. In either

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case the disease came on suddenly, three or four days after the wound was received, which was from an arrow not barbed. The moment the symptoms became evident *tocolosi* was performed. In the short space of two hours one of them was greatly relieved, and the other in about six or eight hours. The following day the one on whom Hala Api Api operated was quite well, and afterwards had no other attack, consequently the thread was withdrawn. The effect of this operation was a considerable pain and tumefaction of the penis, but which gradually subsided in about five or six days. The artificial openings in both cases healed spontaneously without any difficulty.

The natives of these islands are very subject to enlarged testicles, and for this they sometimes perform the operation of *boca* (castration). Mr. Mariner's limited observation on this subject does not authorize him to speak with any degree of certainty in regard to the precise nature of these tumefactions. Their mode of performing this operation is summary enough. A bandage being tied with some degree of firmness round the upper part of the scrotum, so as to steady the diseased mass, at the same time that the scrotum is closely expanded over it, an incision is made with bamboo, just large enough to allow the testicle to pass, which being sepa-

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rated from its cellular connexions, the cord is divided, and thus ends the operation. They neither tie the cord nor take any pains to stop the bleeding; but if the testicle be not very large, and the epidydimis not apparently diseased, they perform the operation by dissecting it from that body with the same instrument.

One of these cases was that of a man who performed the operation on himself. His left testicle was greatly enlarged, being about five or six inches in diameter, and gave him at times severe lancinating pains. Two or three times he was about to have the operation performed by a native of Feejee, but his courage failed him when he came to the trial. One day when with Mr. Mariner, he suddenly determined to have the operation performed upon himself; and it was not much sooner said than done. He tied on the bandage, opened the scrotum with a very steady hand, in a fit of desperation divided the cord and cellular substance together, and fell senseless on the ground. The hœmorrhage was very profuse.

The amputation of a limb is an operation very seldom performed; nevertheless it has been done on at least a dozen individuals.

There was also a man living at the island of Vavaoo who had lost a leg in consequence of

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the bite of a shark, which is not a very uncommon accident. But there was something unusual in this man's particular case: his leg was not bitten off, but the flesh was almost completely torn away from about five inches below the knee down to the foot, leaving the tibia and fibula greatly exposed, and the foot much mangled. He was one of those who chose to perform his own operation. With persevering industry, therefore, he sawed nearly through the two bones with a shell, renewing his tedious and painful task every day till he had nearly accomplished it, and then completed the separation by a sudden blow with a stone! The stump never healed. Mr. Mariner had this account from the man himself and many others.

Téfe, or the operation of circumcision, is thus performed: A narrow slip of wood of a convenient size, being wrapped round with *gnatoo*, is introduced under the præputium, along the back of which a longitudinal incision is then made to the extent of about half an inch, either with bamboo or shell (the latter is preferred). This incision is carried through the outer fold and the beginning of the inner fold, the remainder of the latter being afterwards torn open with the fingers. The end of the penis is then wrapped up in the leaf of a

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tree called *gnatdi*, and is secured with a bandage. The boy is not allowed to bathe for three days; the leaf is renewed once or twice a day. At the Feejee Islands this operation is performed by amputating a portion of the præputium, according to the Jewish rite.

The operation of the *ta tattow*, or puncturing the skin and marking it with certain configurations, though it is not properly surgical, yet we mention it here, as it is very apt to produce enlargements of the inguinal and axillary glands. The instrument used for the purpose of this operation somewhat resembles a small-toothed comb. They have several kinds of different degrees of breadth, from six up to fifty or sixty teeth: they are made of bone of the wild duck. Being dipped in a mixture of soot and water, the outline of the *tattow* is first marked off, before the operator begins to puncture, which he afterwards does by striking in the points of the instrument with a short stick made of the green branch of the cocoa-nut tree. When the skin begins to bleed, which it quickly does, the operator occasionally washes off the blood with cold water, and repeatedly goes over the same places. As this is a very painful process, but a small portion of it is done at once, giving the patient (who may justly be so called) intervals of three or four days' rest, so that it is frequently

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two months before it is completely finished. The parts tattooed are from within two inches of the knees up to about three inches above the umbilicus. There are certain patterns or forms of the tattoo, known by distinct names, and the individual may choose which he likes. On their brown skins the tattoo has a black appearance: on the skin of an European a fine blue appearance. This operation causes that portion of the skin on which it is performed to remain permanently thicker. During the time that it is performed, but sometimes not for two or three months afterwards, swellings of the inguinal glands take place, and which almost always suppurate: sometimes they are opened with a shell before they point, which is considered the best treatment; at other times they are allowed to take their course.

MANUFACTURES.

Fo vaca, or canoe-building.—As it would be impossible to give an intelligible and accurate description of this ingenious and useful art without referring to well-executed plates, and as this has been already so ably done in Cook's and d'Entrecasteaux's voyages, we presume it would be but an unnecessary intrusion upon the attention of the reader to attempt entering into such a description. It may be here noticed,

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however, that the Tonga people have obtained a considerable share of information in the art of building and rigging canoes from the natives of the Feejee islands. In all probability the communication between these two nations, at the distance of one hundred and twenty leagues, began on the part of the Tonga people, who being situated to windward, it is very likely that one or more of their canoes were formerly drifted to the Feejee Islands by stress of weather: and although they have no tradition of such a circumstance, yet the course of the winds tends strongly to corroborate the idea. It is highly probable that neither of them went out on a voyage of discovery; or if such an opinion be admitted, there is little doubt but that the people of Tonga first made the attempt, although the construction and rigging of their canoes were at that time far inferior. The grounds for this opinion are, first, their situation to windward; and secondly, their superior enterprizing spirit in affairs of navigation, which may be said to constitute a feature of their national character. Their superiority in this respect is so great, that no native of Feejee, as far as is known, ever ventured to Tonga, but in a canoe manned with Tonga people; nor ever ventured back to his own island but under the same guidance and protection.

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The Feejee islanders make their canoes principally of a hard firm wood called *fehi*, which is not liable to become worm-eaten; and as the Tonga islands do not produce this wood, the natives are not able to build canoes so large or so strong as those of their instructors: all their large canoes, therefore, are either purchased or taken by force from the natives of the Feejee islands. The natives of Tonga take the greatest pains with their canoes, polishing them with pumice-stone, and paying every attention that they are not more exposed to the weather than is absolutely necessary. The canoes of the Navigators' Islands are similar to those which were formerly in use at Tonga, but the natives of those islands never venture to the latter place but in canoes manned with Tonga people.

Feoomoo, or the art of cooking.—If refinement in cookery is one proof of the civilization of a people, the natives of the South Seas have something to boast of in this respect. At least the people of Tonga can invite you to partake of at least forty or fifty different kinds of *dishes*, consisting in, or prepared from, one or more of the following articles, *viz.* pork, turtle, fowls of different kinds, fish, yams, bread-fruit, plantains, bananas, cocoa-nuts, talo and cabe (esculent roots), and *mahoá*, a preparation from a root of

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the same name. We shall give a short account of the principal preparations of food.

Baked pork.—The animal is first stunned by a blow with a stick, and then killed by repeated blows on both sides of the neck. It is then rubbed over with the juicy substance of the banana tree, thrown for a few minutes on the fire, and when warm, scraped with muscle-shells or knives, and then washed. It is next laid on its back, when the cook cuts open the throat, and drawing forth the windpipe or gullet, passes a skewer between them, and ties a string tight round the latter, afterwards to be divided. He then cuts a circular piece from the belly, from four to six inches diameter, and draws forth the entrails, separating the attachments either by force or by the use of the bamboo. The diaphragm is then divided, and the gullet, windpipe, contents of the chest, stomach, and liver, are all drawn away together, along with the bowels. From these the liver is separated to be baked with the hog: the remainder is washed and cooked over hot embers, to be shared out and eaten in the meanwhile. The whole inside of the hog is now filled up with hot stones, each wrapped up in bread-fruit leaves, and all the apertures of the body are closed up quickly, also with leaves. It is then laid with the belly downwards, in a hole in the ground lined with

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hot stones, a fire having been previously made there for that purpose; but prevented, however, from touching them by small branches of the bread-fruit tree. A few other branches are now laid across the back of the pig, and plenty of banana leaves strewed, or rather heaped over the whole, upon which, again, a mound of earth is raised, so that no steam apparently escapes. The liver is put by the side of the pig, and sometimes yams. By these means a good sized pig may be very well cooked in half an hour. A large hog is generally about half done in this way, then taken up, cut to pieces, and each piece being wrapped up separately in leaves, is cooked again in like manner. Yams, fowls, bread-fruit, and every thing that is baked, is dressed after this manner, the larger yams being cut into smaller pieces. They perform the process of boiling in earthen pots of the manufacture of the Feejee Islands, or in iron vessels procured from ships, or in banana leaves: they also occasionally roast food upon hot embers.

Rope-making.—There are two kinds of rope, one made of the husk of the cocoa-nut, which is the superior sort, and the other of the inner bark of the *fow*. Although these ropes are made entirely by hand, yet even those of considerable circumference are laid with the greatest

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regularity: they are very elastic, and the strength of them is universally known. The husk of the cocoa-nut is first made into plait, which is then twisted into strands, and of these the rope is made. The bark of the *fow* is not first made into plait, but at once into strands.

Bows and Arrows.—The bows are generally made of the wood of the mangrove, though some few are of the casuarina wood. The string made of the inner bark of a tree they call *alongá*, and is exceedingly strong. The arrows are made of reed, headed with casuarina wood. Some of these heads have three or four rows of barbs, and to make them more formidable, are tipped with the bone of the stingray.

Fabrication of Gnatoo.—This substance is somewhat similar to cotton, but not woven, being rather of the texture of paper. It is prepared from the inner bark of the Chinese paper mulberry tree, and is used for dress and other purposes.

A circular incision being made round the tree near the root, with a shell deep enough to penetrate the bark, the tree is broken off at that part which its slenderness readily admits of. When a number of them are thus laid on the ground, they are left in the sun a couple of days to become partially dry, so that the inner and

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outer bark may be stripped off together, without danger of leaving any of the fibres behind. The bark is then soaked in water for a day and night, and scraped carefully with shells, for the purpose of removing the outer bark, or epidermis, which is thrown away. The inner bark is then rolled up lengthways, and soaked in water for another day. It now swells, becomes tougher, and more capable of being beaten out into a firm texture. Being thus prepared, the operation of *tatoo* or beating commences. This part of the work is performed by means of a mallet a foot long and two inches thick, in the form of a parallelopipedon, two opposite sides being grooved longitudinally to the depth and breadth of about a line, with intervals of a quarter of an inch. The bark, which is from two to five feet long, and one to three inches broad, is then laid upon a beam of wood about six feet long, and nine inches in breadth and thickness, which is supported about an inch from the ground by pieces of wood at each end, so as to allow of a certain degree of vibration. Two or three women generally sit at the same beam: each places her bark transversely upon the beam immediately before her, and while she beats with her right hand, with her left she moves it slowly to and fro, so that every part becomes beaten alike. The grooved side of the mallet is chiefly

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used first, and the smooth side afterwards. They generally beat alternately. Early in the morning, when the air is calm and still, the beating of the *gnatoo* at all the plantations about has a very pleasing effect, some sounds being near at hand and others almost lost by the distance; some a little more acute, others more grave, and all with remarkable regularity, produce a musical variety that is very agreeable, and not a little heightened by the singing of the birds and the cheerful influence of the scene. When one hand is fatigued the mallet is dexterously transferred to the other, without occasioning the smallest sensible delay. In the course of about half an hour it is brought to a sufficient degree of thinness, being so much spread laterally as to be now nearly square when unfolded: for it must be observed that they double it several times during the process, by which means it spreads more equally, and is prevented from breaking. The bark thus far prepared is called *fetage*, and is mostly put aside till they have a sufficient quantity to go on at a future time with a second part of the operation, which is called *cogaga*, or printing with *coca*. When this is to be done, a number employ themselves in gathering the berries of the *toe*, the pulp of which serves for paste; but the mucilaginous substance of the *mahoá* root is sometimes substituted for it.

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At the same time others are busy scraping off the soft bark of the *coca* tree and the *tooi-tooi* tree, either of which when wrung out, without water, yields a reddish brown juice, to be used as a dye. The *cobéchi*, or stamp, is formed of the dried leaves of the *paoongo* sewed together, so as to be of a sufficient size, and afterwards embroidered, according to various devices, with the wiry fibre of the cocoa-nut husk. They are generally about two feet long and a foot and a half broad. They are tied on to the convex side of half cylinders of wood, usually about six or eight feet long, to admit two or three similar operations to go on at the same time. The stamp being thus fixed, with the embroidered side uppermost, a piece of the prepared bark is laid on it, and smeared over with a folded piece of *gnatoo* dipped in one of the reddish brown liquids before-mentioned, so that the whole surface of the prepared bark becomes stained, but particularly those parts raised by the design in the stamp. Another piece of *gnatoo* is now laid on it, but not quite so broad, which adheres by virtue of the mucilaginous quality in the dye, and this in like manner is smeared over, then a third in the same way; and the substance is now three layers in thickness. Others are then added to increase it in length and breadth, by pasting the edges of

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these over the first, but not so as there shall be in any place more than three folds, which is easily managed, as the margin of one layer falls short of the margin of the one under it. During the whole process each layer is stamped separately, so that the pattern may be said to exist in the very substance of the *gnatoo*; and when one portion is thus printed to the size of the *cobéchi*, the material being moved farther on, the next portion, either in length or breadth, becomes stamped, the pattern beginning close to where the other ended. Thus they go on printing and enlarging it to about six feet in breadth, and generally about forty or fifty yards in length. It is then carefully folded up and baked under ground, which causes the dye to become somewhat darker and more firmly fixed in the fibre: besides which, it deprives it of a peculiar smoky smell which belongs to the *coca*. When it has been thus exposed to heat for a few hours, it is spread out on a grass plat, or on the sand of the sea-shore, and the finishing operation of *toogi hea* commences, or staining it in certain places with the juice of the *hea*, which constitutes a brilliant red varnish. This is done in straight lines, along those places where the edges of the printed portions join each other, and serves to conceal the little irregularities there; also in sundry other places, in the form

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of round spots about an inch and a quarter in diameter. After this the *gnatoo* is exposed one night to the dew, and the next day being dried in the sun, it is packed up in bales, to be used when required. When *gnatoo* is not printed or stained, it is called *tapa*.

Mr. Mariner's work contains many other particulars of considerable interest respecting the habits of the people, their kind treatment of the weaker sex, the modesty of the women, their care of their children, &c. to detail which would too much interrupt the narrative of this voyage. I must therefore here take leave of my worthy friends in Tonga, and resume my journal.

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CHAPTER II.

CCCURRENCES FROM TONGA TO THE ISLAND OF ROTHUMA, AND THENCE TO TUCOPIA AND MANNICOLO.

28th August 1827.—Fine trade weather. At 9 A.M., being near the situation assigned to the island of Onooafow, or Probey Island of the *Pandora* on Arrowsmith's chart, on which chart the track of the *Pandora* in 1791 is laid down, I bore away for it to N.W.

At noon our latitude observed was 16° 12′ S., and longitude by main of three eight-day chronometers 175° 42′ W. This situation would place the ship thirteen miles to the south-eastward of Onooafow, I therefore steered a north-west course for it nineteen and a-half miles, which would place us in the latitude of the island, and then steered west seventeen miles; but not seeing any thing of land I bore away. The situation assigned to the above island in Arrowsmith's chart, as laid down by the *Pandora*, is 15° 59′ S., and longitude 175° 52′ W.; and that allotted to it in Malham's Naval Gazetteer is 15° 46° S., and longitude 175° 15′ W. If such an island does exist, the latter situation will most likely be found cor-

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rect, as I can safely vouch for its non-existence in the former.

29th.—Fine trades as usual. At noon the latitude observed was 14° 10′ S., longitude 176° 56′ W.; a situation which would place us eighty miles to the eastward of an island laid down under the name of "Forlorn Hope," in latitude 14° 16′ S., and longitude 176° 56′ W., in Norie's Nautical Tables for the year 1810, page 244, under the head of latitude and longitude of places. I steered for this island W.½ southwardly forty-one and a-half miles; when the sun being setting, I had a clear view of the horizon for ten leagues all round, but could discover nothing like land.

In the chart on which the *Pandora's* track is laid down, there is an island placed in latitude 14° 13′ S. and longitude 178° W., said to have been visited by the above ship, and named "Horn Island of Schouton," "Foodoonattoo," or "Island Perdio" of Bougainville, in A.D. 1769. This is most likely the Forlorn Hope of Norie; as I can assert, without fear of contradiction, that no such island is now to be found in the situation he has assigned to his "Forlorn Hope."

My Tonga friends still continued extremely sea-sick, nor could I prevail upon them to take any nourishment. Our sago, tea, and hot

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brandy and water, they regard as so many poisonous compositions.

30th.—Strong trades. The latitude observation at noon was 12° 50′ S., longitude 178° 40′ W. At midnight crossed the opposite meridian to Greenwich for the second time since sailing from New Zealand.

The second officer reported to me this morning, that at 1 A.M. he detected a seaman named Johnson, whom I had shipped at Port Jackson, and who was stationed upon the forecastle to look out for danger, asleep. As I was determined to root out such dangerous practices, which are in direct violation of all discipline, and a positive infraction of the articles of agreement which every man on board ship connected with the management of its course is bound most inviolably to adhere to, I ordered the boatswain to start him with a rope's-end; and further, with a view to deter others from the like misconduct, I threatened to put Johnson on shore at the first island we made, which however it was not my intention to carry into effect. This complaint being made by so inveterate a sleeper as the second officer, certainly gave me hopes that he intended for the future to be more on the alert himself; yet it would not have detracted from my good opinion of that officer, had he, instead of reporting him to

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me, overlooked the man's first offence, and admonished him, as a reclaimed sinner might well have done to an erring brother.

31*st.*—Very strong trades throughout the day. Latitude observed at noon 12° 25′ S, longitude 178° 36′ E. This situation would give the ship's distance at noon from Rothuma Island ninety-one miles, if it be laid down correctly, its situation in the charts, nautical tables, and Naval Gazetteer being 12° 30′ S., and 177° E. longitude. At 8 P.M. inhauled small sails and up courses, so as not to reach the island before daylight, our distance from its situation being thirty-six miles. At 11½ P.M. the island of Rothuma was seen from the deck, bearing S.W. by W.

1*st September.*—Moderate trades with cloudy weather. Shortly after daybreak we set all plain sail and stood in for the land, which had a beautiful verdant appearance, with plantations and houses from the sea-side to the summit of the highest hills. Close to the beach several large houses were strewed, at short distances, among the cocoa-nut and bread-fruit tress.

On approaching the north-east point of the island we perceived two small islets extending from the shore about a mile, and connected with it by a reef of rocks. From behind these isles two canoes came out, paddled by twelve

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or thirteen men each. We shortened sail and allowed them to come up, when in one of them we found an Englishman named Parker. I allowed him, with the chief under whose protection he lived, to come on board. The chief embraced the Rothuma man whom I had brought with me from Tonga, and appeared much rejoiced and pleased with me for returning him to his native country, where, as he had now been absent about eight years, he was supposed by all his friends to have been lost at sea.

When those persons came on board, I made sail to the westward along the north side of the island, and found that an American whaler had been to anchor there as late as the 17th of the preceding month to the westward of the two small islands extending off from the north-east part of the main island.

I stood on until I got within a mile of the shore, and a mile and a half to the eastward of a bay that runs in near to the west point of the island. Here I had soundings in seventeen fathoms soft mud bottom, and to all appearance excellent holding ground. I then stood off to the northward, and sounded in twenty-three fathoms (bottom as above), with the high island to the north of the west point of the main island, bearing per compass S.W. one mile and a half, distance from the main island two miles.

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I am of opinion that in most places, at from one mile and a half to two miles from the shore, between the north and east points of the island and the west point, there is anchorage in from seventeen to twenty-five fathoms, good ground; and admitting that the wind should come from the northward, a vessel could make sail and stand out to the eastward or the westward, between the main island and three islands situated to the north of the west point of the main. The names of those islands are the High-peaked Island, a low flat island, and the Cleft Island. Keeping those islands on the starboard, and the main island on the larboard side, steer through the channel to the westward, which is clear of all dangers. Keep at the distance of from a half to three-quarters of a mile from the main island. The narrowest part of the channel is full two miles wide, that is, between the High-peaked Island and the main island. Between the main island and the outer islands the channel is four or five miles wide.

I understood from Parker that there were no runs of water on the island, and that the natives were obliged to procure that necessary from the wells made in each village. He informed me that he watered the last ship which lay there, and produced the captain's certificate to that effect. He also stated that about eight months

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ago he watered another whaler, which lay at anchor near the bay towards the west end of the island. Hence it appeared that abundance of water could be obtained from the wells on shore.

The natives told this man that about eight or ten years ago the island was visited by a dreadful tempest, which committed such ravages among their cocoa-nut trees and plantations as to cause a famine. In consequence of this, all the hogs on the island were destroyed, and even the very breed became extinct for some years, until at length they were again supplied from the whalers with a fresh stock. Their numbers are now increasing, and there may be about one hundred pigs on the islands; but so careful are the natives of them, that no inducement can prevail upon them to part with one. I gave Parker a young Tonga boar and sow to breed from; and had the island possessed gold mines, for this simple present, if I had arrived here at the proper time, I might have realized the splendid fortune of the celebrated Whittington.

The products of this island are small yams, a kind of large sweet potatoe, cocoa-nuts, bananas, sugar-canes, tara, and the common barn-door fowl, and at certain seasons of the year the bread-fruit abounds; but generally the produc-

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tions of the island are not abundant; and this small spot being so thickly populated, the surplus produce is but inconsiderable at all times.

The natives barter their commodities chiefly for whales' teeth, tortoise-shells, glass beads, cutlery, and small axes. With the whales' teeth and tortoise-shells they ornament their clubs, spears, &c., and make neck and ear-ornaments of bits of turtle shell, which among them are valued as gold with us.

This island is divided into six districts, each ruled by its own chief. These meet in congress every six months, when they elect a president and deliberate upon state affairs, hearing and settling grievances without having recourse to arms. Thus intestine broils seldom occur, and when they are inevitable, are not very sanguinary. Parker, who has been upon the island about four years, estimates that during that period not more than forty lives have been lost in battle. It sometimes happens that the president does not wish to resign his post at the expiration of six months; when, rather than quarrel, they allow him to exceed the time appointed by law: but should he persist in a further maintenance of his power, the other chiefs league together, and compel him by force of arms to retire.

The people seem to belong to the same race

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as the Friendly Islanders, but the females are not, in my opinion, either so cleanly or handsome as those of Tongataboo. They are generally besmeared with a mixture of turmeric and cocoa-nut oil, which gives them a reddish appearance. Both men and women wear their hair long, and hanging in ringlets down the back and shoulders. It is coloured according to each person's fancy, sometimes white, purple, or red; which colours are produced by the use of lime made from burnt shells, the bark of the mangrove tree, and a kind of ashes of burnt roots and limes. No restraint is placed on the inclinations of single or unmarried females: they may confer their favours on whomsoever they please; but if caught sinning after marriage, woe to the unfortunate lover! his punishment is instant death.

We had several canoes off, each navigated by ten, twelve, or fifteen hands. These canoes are built much after the shape of those at the Friendly Islands, but are by no means so neat in their construction and workmanship. The articles brought off for barter were principally cocoa-nuts, some very fine mats, a few fowls, a dozen yams, two or three baskets of potatoes, and eighteen or twenty young girls, who, as I afterwards understood, were willing to avail themselves of the privileges which they enjoyed

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in single blessedness. On seeing the New Zealand girls, they entered the ship without hesitation and embraced them tenderly. Several of them volunteered to join us in the expedition, and seemed much disappointed on learning that there was not room for any more than those on board.

The two Tonga men and the young woman sent by Fuckafinnow, the chief of Mafanga, were disappointed at the scanty appearance of the supplies brought off for sale in the canoes, and on learning that the tribute for which they had come sailed for Tonga about five months ago, by the way of the Feejees, they said that they had rather die on board of sea-sickness than go ashore to be starved, as they were certain it was a hungry land, from the small samples of provisions brought off for sale. The length of time they would have to remain in this island really terrified them; perhaps four or five years before another fleet should sail for Tonga: so that they resolved to stop in the ship until I could put them on board some whaler in this neighbourhood, which would return to the whaling station off Tonga in May, June, July, or August, those being the months in which they sailed for that quarter each year. Being short of my complement of men I consented to take them with me, considering they

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would be eminently useful now that I was near my place of destination.

The natives of Rothuma have as great an itching for theft as the rest of their neighbours in the South Sea Islands. While sitting conversing in the Feejee tongue with one of their chiefs and Parker, a man who was standing in a canoe laying alongside, put his hand into the port, and drew from one of the guns its iron crowbar; but on seeing that I observed him he let it go; on which I drew my sword and struck him a blow on the head with the flat side of it. This caused his friends to push off from the ship, which the chief and Parker observing, intreated me to order the sentries to shoot him and all in the canoe. I however declined availing myself of this permission of the chief, but discharged a musket myself, in such a way that the ball fell a little beyond the canoe, thus shewing the chief that it was not from want of power to reach him that I suffered him to escape.

I was anxious to know, and inquired the cause of the chief's desire to have this man shot, who thus accounted for it. "We have," said he, "several thieves on shore, who when we visit the land and houses of other chiefs accompany our train, and having committed thefts, endeavour to escape. If they succeed, the

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offended person and his party fall upon that to which they belong, and sometimes punish them with death. Now if this man had got the piece of iron away you might have killed me, therefore I wished you to kill him who by his escape would have endangered my life, since I am in your power."

In January 1826, while in the *St. Patrick*, at anchor in the Thames at New Zealand, I was informed by Captain Bren, the master of a whaler, that a whale-ship called the *Rochester* of London, commanded by Captain Warth, had touched at Rothuma for refreshments in 1823, where the crew were mutinous and disorderly, and gave the captain and his officers much trouble in preserving order on board. Several of them attempted to desert, but were prevented by the captain's vigilance. While laying-to off Rothuma on the whaling station, the captain's brother-in-law, a young man named Young, who had charge of the watch on deck, with the carpenter's mate, Parker, and four others, lowered down a whale-boat with all her whaling-tackle, robbed the ship of her arms and various other articles, and made off to Rothuma, where the natives received them kindly. Each married two or three wives, according to the custom of the country, and have now large families growing up.

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Shortly after Parker (one of the mutineers) had come on board this morning, he was followed by Young, the captain's brother-in-law; and notwithstanding these men's characters were so bad, I had no alternative left but to employ them as pilots and interpreters. I also tolerated them, with the view of gleaning such information from them as, if they had but common sense, they ought to have been possessed of, regarding the winds, tides, customs, manners, and rites, of the inhabitants, after a residence among them of four years.

Three of the men who were associated with Young and Parker in plundering the *Rochcster* have since then left this island in different whalers, and their places on shore have been supplied by three deserters from the ship which was at anchor off the island on the 17th ultimo. Two other Europeans came alongside in a canoe and begged leave to come on board; which I refused, asking them how they could presume to desire such a favour, having deserted their own ship in this remote part of the globe.

About this time, through the mismanagement of its steersman, a canoe was upset, in which were two females. The men and one of the ladies swam well, and endeavoured to right the canoe; but the other, who could not swim, was

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nearly exhausted when taken up by her companions.

Not wishing to lose time, I bore away at half past one o'clock for Tucopia. At a quarter before two the high-peaked island bore S. by E. one or two miles. This island, with a high bluff head on the main, which forms the west point of the bay, running in from the west, are the highest parts of the Rothuma Islands. At 6 P.M. we were distant from the peaked island twenty-five miles: it was then a quarter or more above the level of the horizon, and I doubt not might have been seen thirty-five or forty miles off in clear weather. The east side of the main island is moderately high, and may be seen at the distance of thirty miles.

The ship which first visited, or rather discovered this island, was the *Pandora* frigate, Captain E. Edwards, in August 1791, when in search of the mutineers belonging to his Britannic Majesty's sloop of war *Bounty*. The next vessel which visited them was the missionary ship *Duff*, in September 1797. From this period, I believe, these islands were not visited, either by British or foreign flags, until late in 1814, about which time a Calcutta brig, called the *Campbell Macquarie*, commanded by Captain R. Siddons, touched there on his way from the Feejee Islands to Port Jackson.

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Captain Siddons found a Rothuma man at Nanpacab, a town of the Feejees, who had been drifted there some years before in a canoe, with some others of his countrymen. This person described his island as abounding with supplies of hogs, fowls, yams, &c.; and Captain Siddons, being in want of such refreshments, received the man on board as a passenger, and conveyed him to Rothuma. He had also in the *Campbell Macquarie* a very old Sandwich islander, well known at Port Jackson by the name of Babahey, who had been for many years employed out of Sydney as an interpreter to the north-west coast of America, the Sandwich Islands, Otaheita, and the Feejees. He was always accounted a faithful servant. He sailed under my command in the *Active* brig, of Calcutta, when she was employed to take missionaries to New Zealand, and left me at sea to join the *Campbell Macquarie.* Babahey finding his end approaching fast, begged of Captain Siddons to allow him to remain at Rothuma: which the latter complied with, furnishing him with many necessaries when he put him on shore there. I considered it a duty to inquire after my old shipmate, he being a man for whom I had some regard, and was sorry to learn that he had died about eight years ago of a decline, leaving a daughter behind

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him on the island, who is now twelve years old.

The Rothumans give an account of several islands being in their neighbourhood, one of which they name Vythuboo. As this island abounds with a kind of white shells much in demand at Rothuma, the natives of that island make frequent voyages to Vythuboo for the purpose of procuring them; and it is in these voyages that these people get lost at sea, and are drifted to the Feejees, Tucopia, and the Navigators' Islands. They describe the inhabitants of one of the islands in their neighbourhood as cannibals, marked or tattooed on the face like the New Zealanders on board. Those islands I suppose to be what are laid down and named on the charts as Ellis's and Depestre's Groups, discovered by Captain Depestre in 1819, on his return from South America to Calcutta. There are at present residing at Rothuma some natives of Vythuboo and of the Newy Islands, who expect to sail homeward in a few weeks.

I could learn but little from Parker and Young as to the state of the winds, weather, and tides. I inquired if they had not a rainy season, and if north-west and west winds did not prevail at that season. In reply they stated, that here all seasons of the year were alike; that there had been no westwardly winds since

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they had resided on the island; but that it sometimes became calm, and continued so for several days. With respect to the tides, they said that there was but little variation in the height of them at Rothuma, and that even at springs it did not rise more than two or three feet.

But, notwithstanding the assertions of these men, who I believe to have been so ignorant as not to know or be capable of judging from what point of the compass the wind blows, I am clearly of opinion that westerly winds prevail at certain seasons of the year: otherwise how could the man whom I brought from Tongataboo have reached the Navigators' Isles, at a distance of six hundred and eight miles to windward of Rothuma, if he had not westerly winds to take him there. From the Navigators' Islands he got to Tonga in one of Thubow's canoes. This man is a chief of no importance at Rothuma.

The following circumstances, which further support my assumption on this point, come within my personal knowledge, and will, I think, prove, or go a great way towards it, that there does exist a north-west or west monsoon in these regions between the latitude of 12° S. and the equator at a certain season of the year. While laying in Valparasio Bay in June 1824, the

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American whaler *Globe*, of Nantucket, entered the port with a signal of distress hoisted. I went on board of her in company with the American consul and several other gentlemen. We found a young lad named Smith in command of the ship, and the crew consisted of three other youths and a man aged about twenty-five years. Smith informed us that the crew had mutinied in the January before, and murdered the captain and three mates, and then made the best of their way to Lord Mulgrave's Range (in latitude between 5° and 10° N., and between 170° and 175° E. longitude), where they brought the ship to an anchor. The ringleaders in the mutiny and murderers began to discharge the ship of all her valuables, and to erect tents on shore among the native huts. One night, while all the accomplices in the mutiny were in a state of intoxication and riot at their new abode on shore, except one whom they had left on board the ship, Smith with the three other lads secured this mutineer below; they then cut the cable and made sail to the westward, until they were out of reach of their old shipmates. They afterwards hauled on a wind upon the larboard tack, and stood to the southward until they crossed the line, where they met with westerly and north-westerly winds, which enabled them to sight the Navigators' Isles without making a

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tack, the centre of them being in latitude 13° 50′ S. and longitude 171° 30′ W.

I shall conclude my account of the Rothumans by stating that their character on the whole is good; and that they are remarkably kind to Europeans, as well as to all other strangers, nor have they ever been known to molest any of their foreign visitors. Persons from ships may land with the greatest safety, so far as regards their persons and wearing apparel; but it is not unlikely that they may be robbed of iron tools, there being very little of that grand desideratum among the islanders. Before I arrived they had only four axes among them: my passenger the Rothuman added another, which with four implements of the same kind which I left, made a total of nine. There is not a saw on the whole island; and their principal ironmongery consists of iron hoops, procured from British and American whalers that have touched here to refresh within the last five or six years.

Being aware that the King of France's corvette the *Astrolabe*, Captain Dumont d'Urville, was not far distant, and might on her way from the Feejees touch at Rothuma, I left a letter with Parker for her commander, informing that gentleman of the objects of my expedition, and directing him to follow me to Tucopia, where he would hear further from me.

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The situation assigned to Rothuma in late charts and nautical tables I found to be correct.

2d.—Moderate trades, with fine clear weather; toward sunset the wind inclined toward the southward of S.E. Our latitude at noon was 12° 26′ S., and longitude 174° 52′ E.; thermometer at noon in the shade 82°, for the first time since re-entering the tropics.

Being now at no great distance from the place where all my hopes of success lay, and wishing to preserve a perfect good understanding with the natives, who are unaccustomed to see Europeans, I issued orders to the crew and passengers on no account to trade, barter, or traffic for the smallest article with the islanders whom we might visit for the future. I had their articles of agreement rehearsed, and reminded them of their engagements with me, and how imperatively necessary it was that the tenour of them should be adhered to now, at the crisis of the expedition, when all our hopes of ultimate success depended so much on an unanimous cordial co-operation in the accomplishment of the one grand object. I also read to them some extracts from my instructions relative to restraining trading and the use of fire-arms, and endeavoured forcibly to impress upon their minds how much good conduct would recommend them to the favourable con-

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sideration of the Government on our return to Calcutta.

3d.—Strong trades and cloudy weather: latitude at noon 12° 9′ S.; longitude 172° 14′ E. This situation would place us thirteen miles to the eastward of the *Pandora*'s reefs, to avoid which I stood to the south-west until 5 P.M., when I resumed my course for Tucopia.

4th.—At 6 A.M. land was seen from the mast-head bearing N.N.E., for which I immediately stood. At a distance it exhibited two peaks, and appeared like two separate islands. This is the Mitre Island of the *Pandora*. At 11 A.M. the island bore E.¾N., distance two miles; at which time I tacked and stood to the south-westward, and found its situation to be as follows: latitude 11° 56′ S., longitude 170° 17′ 10″; which may be depended on as perfectly correct.

Several authors assign the following situations to it, *viz.* Norie, in his "Requisite Tables," 11° 46′ S. latitude, and longitude 169° 55′ E.; Bowditch, in his "Epitome," gives its latitude 11° 49′ S. and 169° 55′ E. longitude; and in Lynn's Tables for 1825, the latitude assigned to it is 11° 55′ S. and longitude 170° 20′ E., which last situation is very near correct, and differs but little from my observation.

The situation said to be assigned to Mitre Island on board the *Pandora*, which ship dis-

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covered it, is as follows, in Captain Birnie's very interesting collection of voyages. He refers to the *Pandora's* journal, from which it appears he has taken the latitude of the island, 11° 49′ S.; 169° 55′ E. longitude. It is really surprising how so many mistakes could have originated in the taking of latitudes and longitudes, at the close of the enlightened eighteenth century.

Not one of the latitudes and longitudes said to have been ascertained on board the *Pandora*, in 1791, with which I have fallen in as yet, is correct. There are islands laid down in that ship's track that never existed in the situation assigned to them, and others several leagues out in their latitudes and longitudes. But these errors are not, in my opinion, to be imputed to the naval officers of that ship, who no doubt were fully competent in this as well as every part of their duty; and I therefore rather suppose that they originated with the printers and chart-sellers, who, to obtain a ready sale for works, put a late date to them, with a seeming correction in the situations of islands and places from former works of a similar kind, thereby removing them really from truth to error.

Mitre Island, as I before stated, when first seen from a distance, appears like two islands. This appearance arises from two peaks of a

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moderate height, the one standing near to its north-western extremity, and the other at its south-eastern, with an intervening valley nearly level with the sea. The island is about half a mile long, stretching in a S.E. and N.W. direction; a high surf breaks round its shores, which are therefore both difficult and dangerous to approach. It is inhabited by no human being; gannets and men-of-war hawks retaining jointly the ancient sway of this little spot. There are no cocoa-nut trees upon it, the reason for which will be presently explained; but it is thickly clothed with trees of other kinds. Near to the west side of it stands a rock, rearing perpendicularly its massy form, presenting to my eyes much the appearance of a steeple or tower of an old church.

I obtained the following account of Mitre Island from Martin Bushart. It is called by the natives of Tucopia and Cherry Islands *Fatacca*. Cherry Island is called by them *Anuta*. They account for this island not being inhabited in the following manner. It is annually visited by them when the westerly winds prevail in these latitudes, for the purpose of procuring the feathers and flesh of the wild fowl which frequent it. They bake the bodies of the birds for several days, in ovens prepared like those in use at Tongataboo, and then return

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home with their canoes laden with the food thus prepared.

As the shores of Mitre Island abound with sharks, they also resort thither for the purpose of catching them, more on account of the teeth than for the sake of the flesh. They fasten the teeth to bits of wood with twine and gum from the *thàmana* tree, and thus make them serve the purposes of scissors and razors. These natives also report that water is plentiful upon this little island, but I suppose it is to be obtained only by digging.

Many canoes with several persons on board are from time to time drifted down from the islands to windward, and first land at Fatacca (Mitre Island). With a view to preserve their fishery on its coast, and their annual supplies of fowls and feathers from the land, they carefully discourage the growth of the cocoa-nut tree here, which in the South Seas is the staff of life, by eradicating it whenever, in spite of their care to prevent it, it makes its appearance. The reason they assign for this appears to be grounded on the soundest policy. They observe, that if the canoes which are drifted from the windward islands should find a sufficiency of supplies on Fatacca, they would proceed no farther, become permanent settlers there, disturb the haunts of the fowl, engross the shark

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fishery, and in the course of time, by continual emigrations and the natural increase of population, would so multiply as to establish a new nation within their precincts, and wage hostilities with them.

It appears from the accounts of the Tucopians and Anutoans, that in the days of their ancestors these islands were invaded by five large double canoes from Tongataboo, the crews of which committed dreadful outrages, destroyed the plantations, robbed the houses, violated the females, and murdered the males.

At 6 P.M. I was not more than forty miles off Tucopia, upon which account I shortened sail and stood to the north-east for the night, that I might not pass the island before daylight.

5th.—Strong trades, with light squalls and mizzling rains at intervals. At half-past seven this morning the island of Tucopia was seen from the poop bearing W.S.W. twenty-one miles. Hauled up S.W. by S. to pass round to the southward of it. On passing round its south side, I observed several natives on the beach, but not one canoe; a circumstance at which I wondered much, as upon my two former visits to this island several canoes put off from this part of the shore. At 11½ the ship was abreast of the west point of the island, which is near its centre. Here there were several hundreds of natives

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upon the beach, and though I was not more than three-quarters of a mile from them, there was not a canoe yet to be seen, nor the least perceptible attempt on the part of the islanders to put off to the ship.

I could not account for this seeming coolness, which appeared the more extraordinary as contrasted with their conduct on all former occasions, when every canoe in the island used to be alongside the ship before she had approached within a league of the shore. Under these circumstances, I apprehended that some ship had been here since my last visit, and that a misunderstanding had taken place between the crew and islanders. I now sent the chief officer in charge of an armed boat to land Martin Bushart, for the purpose of opening an intercourse with the natives, so as to enable me to carry into effect the orders of the Government, which directed me to procure interpreters here for the Mannicolos. After landing Bushart, I ordered the officer to sound along shore for a place where the ship might anchor.

Got an indifferent observation at noon, which shewed the latitude of the north-east point of the island to be 12° 16′ S., and the longitude of its centre 168° 58′ E.

About 2 P.M. recalled the boat from sounding by signal of a gun, the officer having taken a

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wrong direction, and pointed out to him how he was to act. I then despatched him again to seek for anchorage, and during the interval two canoes came off, paddled or rowed by five men each. Eight of these leaped into the water and swam to the gangway, where they caught hold of ropes, and came upon deck with the greatest unconcern. On seeing the New Zealanders, they inquired from what country the Marquis of Whymattee and the others came, and appeared much astonished at their tattooed faces. The two canoes shoved off for the shore, leaving the eight men on board the *Research.* I made a tack to the south-west, and stood back for the island, and on reaching it night was approaching fast. Five of my eight visitors returned on shore in some of the canoes that came off to us, leaving the other three to spend the night on board.

At $4\frac{1}{2}$ P.M. the boat returned, the officer having sounded all along the west side of the island, and at a half cable's length from the shore found fifty fathoms water. Twelve fathoms outside of that he had one hundred and two fathoms: to leeward of a small reef that ran off the south-west point of the island he had fifty fathoms at two cable-lengths from the reef. Soundings coral and coarse sand.

Martin Bushart, with the Tucopian, lascar,

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and one of the islanders, returned in the boat, and shortly after them an Englishman came out of a canoe upon deck, without having first obtained permission, for which reason I ordered him back to his canoe. I inquired of the lascar who this European was, and learnt that about four months ago a ship's long-boat, sloop-rigged, had anchored off the west side of the island. The crew, consisting of five Englishmen, landed, represented themselves as having belonged to the ship *Mary* of Liverpool, Captain Williams, employed in the South-sea whale fishery, which had been wrecked on a low island to the eastward of Tucopia, from which those in the boat escaped as just described. He said, however, that they told many different stories concerning their wreck and ship, which induced him to doubt the truth of the whole tale. These men with the lascar were the only foreigners I found on the island. My informant further stated to me, that a ship had come off the west side of the island shortly after the *St. Patrick's* departure from hence, but that all his intreaties could not induce the natives to take him off to her, and she bore away without having any intercourse with the shore.

The Tucopians robbed the five Englishmen of every thing they possessed, and broke up their boat in order to procure the nails in her.

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These tidings tended to confirm my suspicions that some cause existed for keeping the islanders at so great a distance. He further informed me that one canoe was run away with about six months ago by some young lads of Tucopia, who went in it to Mannicolo, where they were well received and kindly treated by the natives; and after having refreshed there for six days they returned to their native island, without having experienced any dangers on the passage.

These accounts I received from the lascar, who appears, notwithstanding a residence here of fourteen years, not to be tired of his secluded life. I tried all in my power to prevail upon him to accompany me to Mannicolo, but without effect. As an objection to proceeding with us, he observed in the first place, that he was an old man and quite unable to work, and that if he returned to his native country he must either beg or starve; alternatives he did not choose to adopt while plenty awaited him in Tucopia. Further, that he had lost his caste, and would therefore be disowned by his friends and relations, who would regard him as an infidel; that among Christians he would be similarly circumstanced, and neither party owning him for a member, he would be an outcast from all. Besides this, he had a wife at Tucopia whom he tenderly loved, and whom he would never

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voluntarily abandon. These objections being too cogent to be overcome, I relinquished the hope of inducing him to accompany the expedition to Mannicolo, which he says, to the best of his recollection, it is now six years since he visited.

The chief officer, on going toward the shore this morning, was joined in the boat by the two Englishmen who swam from the reef. In answer to his inquiries how they came on the island, they stated themselves to be deserters from the *Harriet* South-seaman, which about three months ago had touched at this place; and that a few weeks after a long-boat arrived here with three other Englishmen, belonging to a whaler that was wrecked on an island to the eastward. They were soon after visited by another Englishman, who was introduced to the officer by those already in the boat as one of the three who had arrived in the long-boat. This gave rise to inquiries as to what had become of the commander and officers of the shipwrecked vessel, when this person gave so vague, unsatisfactory, and in many instances contradictory answers, that the officer suspected all was not right. All this he informed me of, and I related the matter to the lascar and Tucopians, who declared that part of the account to be false which represented two of them as having deserted here from

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the *Harriet*, as no such ship had ever been near the island. They said that the five Englishmen all arrived at the same time in the long-boat, as the lascar had before stated.

With respect to the ship *Mary* of Liverpool being a South-sea whaler, it is totally out of the question. There never has been but one whaler fitted out from that port, which was in 1803 or 1804, and her name was the *Carlton*, commanded by Captain Fisher. The only ports in Great Britain from which South-seamen are fitted out are London and Milford Haven. As to a whaler having a long-boat, such a thing was never heard of (at least in the annals of modern whaling), as the whale-boats, boilers, tackles, &c. occupy that part of a whaler which is usually appropriated in other ships to carry the long-boat and spars. In fine, the story of the wreck is a mere fabrication.

There cannot be a doubt but that these men had escaped from New South Wales within the last year. A small sloop was run away with from Van Diemen's Land belonging to a Captain Walker; and a large open boat was piratically taken from Port Jackson or the Hawkesbury river by one of the convict clerks in the Master Attendant's Office, named Cleft or Cleff. This person had been second mate of a Calcutta ship called the *Mary*, commanded by Captain Or-

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mond, who was employed in the trade to New South Wales. After Cleft had made two or three voyages to that colony he returned to London, where, for want of better employment, he took up that of passing forged Bank of England notes, for which he was tried, found guilty, and sentenced to transportation for life to New South Wales. He had not been there more than three months when, with some others, he absconded with the boat before-mentioned. I determined to sift this matter to the bottom.

The native who came off with Martin Bushart this evening was the man who arrived from Mannicolo with some chain plates, long iron bolts, and a crow-bar, three or four months prior to my arrival at this island in the *St. Patrick*. His name was Rathea, and he had been at Mannicolo for about five years, and by all accounts spoke that language with fluency. From him I gleaned the following particulars relative to the ships which were wrecked there, when he was a boy of about eight or ten years of age. From the natives he learned that the two ships alluded to in this narrative ran on shore in the night on reefs some considerable distance from the land. The one which got on shore near to Whannow was totally lost, and such of the crew as escaped to land were murdered by

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the islanders. Their skulls were offered to the deity in a temple, where they remained many years, and were seen by several Tucopians. The narrator did not see the skulls himself, but believed they were now mouldered away.

The ship which was wrecked at Paiow, after being on the reef, was driven into a good situation. The crews of these ships consisted of several hundred men. The ship stranded at Paiow was broken up to build a two-masted ship. The people, while employed building the two-masted ship, had a fence built round her of wooden palisading, within which they lived. There were several of the islanders friendly disposed toward them: others were very hostile, and kept up a continual war with the shipwrecked people. When the new vessel was built all but two men embarked in her, and sailed away for their native country, after which they never returned.

The Mannicolans represent the crews of these vessels not to have been men, but spirits. There was a projection (they say) from their foreheads or noses a foot long. (This Martin thinks was the cocked-hat which protruded in front.) They did not eat the same as men: a little bit of food the size of a person's finger was sufficient for them. After eating it, they went to work immediately in building their ship.

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Rathea was often on the spot where the ship was built, and has seen some large pieces of iron there, which could not be moved on account of their great weight.

Several of the people were killed by treachery. The Mannicolans would make them friends or *tihowas*, and get them away from the encampment and murder them.

Rathea says that Paiow and Whannow are not two islands, as I supposed formerly, but two towns or districts on the island of Mannicolo, and that a person can walk from Paiow to Whannow in one day. He says there have been no ships at Mannicolo since the ships were wrecked there; but several have been seen by the islanders passing in the offing.

Rathea volunteered to accompany me on the expedition, as pilot and interpreter, to Mannicolo, of which I was very glad, and availed myself of his service in this twofold and important capacity. He is about fifty years old.

Bushart informed me that the natives were very happy at seeing him once more, and that hundreds fatigued him with their embraces. It being late, he directed the head chief of the island to order his people to bring in all the iron-work in their possession, with every other thing which came from Mannicolo, to sell to me in the morning. As it was now dark night,

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I stood to the southward until 12 o'clock, at which time we tacked to the north-eastward.

6th.—The weather this day was similar to that of yesterday. A 6 A.M. we had clear daylight; the island bore N. by W. of us. I bore away for it. At 7 A.M. I sent two armed boats on shore, with instructions to the officer to allow Martin Bushart to land with another person, who were to endeavour to prevail on some natives to fill a few small water-casks, which were sent in the boat for that purpose. This person was also to purchase the various articles offered for sale. As the lascar declined accompanying the expedition, and Martin Bushart wished to return from Mannicolo to Tucopia after my business should be settled there, I was inclined to make them as comfortable as my circumstances would allow. With this view, and as I also wished to stock Tucopia with a breed of animals (the only quadrupeds on the island being rats), I sent by the boat two ducks and two drakes, nine hens and three cocks, two young buck goats and two she goats, directing Martin to inform the lascar that these animals were the joint property of both.

Yesterday I sent on shore five axes as presents: one for the principal chief, and one for each of his three subordinates; the fifth being for the high priest, as I had lately learned how

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necessary it is to be upon good terms with these reverend gentlemen. By means of these presents to his holiness, I thought he might be induced to prevail on the temporal chiefs to interest themselves in my favour. Nor let any one sneer at this precaution: for I have found it good policy to acquire the favour of the clergy in barbarous, as well as in more polished society: these interpreters of the will of heaven having in general as much direct and immediate influence over the councils of the rulers here, as the clergy have in certain British colonies.

Having sent the presents yesterday by Martin, I was apprehensive lest the chief might consider them as coming from himself, and therefore I sent him a second one to-day by my trading officer, consisting of a large hatchet, a carving-knife, and string of beads. With these he was highly gratified, and begged of the officer to prevail on me to land.

At 10 A.M. the small boat returned, and the officer stated that water could not be procured in any considerable quantity, as the water-run was not above the size of a stream from a goose-quill; that a day's labour would supply only about one hundred gallons, which must be carried from the south side of the island across a low point of land to the middle of the west side, where there is the best landing for boats.

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At 2 P.M. Martin came on board with the Mannicolo pilot and the second chief of the island, whom he had much difficulty in persuading to accompany him, having totally failed in his invitation to the principal chief, who would not on any consideration leave the island. Their fears, no doubt, arose from a dread that we should retaliate on them for having broken up the five Englishmen's long-boat. The chief who came on board was presently taken very sea-sick, and earnestly desired to get on shore again as soon as possible; after I had made him a present of some beads and cutlery, a canoe being at hand, I therefore called it, and he quitted the vessel.

The trading officer sent off by Mr. Russell, the draughtsman, the undermentioned articles, purchased from the Tucopians, who had procured them from the Mannicolos, *viz.*

Fourteen pieces of flat iron beaten out with stones in a rude form by the islanders, into the shapes of coarse carpenter's tools.

One old sword blade, much rusted and worn by time; it appeared as if it had been for some years under water.

One small piece of an old rasp, worn down smooth.

One lather's hammer of European manufacture.

One plain iron bolt, with a head.

One screw-bolt.

One spike-nail.

One very old razor, and one china-plate.

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One piece of copper with three holes in it.

One half of a brass globe.

Four composition bells, or rather rattles, such as are used by the Muleteers in Spain.

Two small composition bells shaped after the fashion of those used in christian churches, with the figure 2 engraved or stamped on each of them.

One silver sword-handle, with a large and a small cypher on one side of it; and on the other side one cypher, apparently resembling a P. surmounted with a crown.

The moment the silver handle of the sword was produced, both M. Chaigneau and I recognized it as belonging to the sword-guard taken by me to Calcutta in the *St. Patrick;* the cyphers exactly corresponding.

I received a letter from the five Englishmen on shore, requesting me to give them a passage to one of the large islands to leeward, from which they could more conveniently get on board some whaler touching there for supplies. Not knowing by what casualty these people came here, whether they were shipwrecked as they described, or had deserted from New South Wales, I took some time to consider what ought to be done in their case.

In the first place, my water-casks were old, and some of them had leaked dry at different times. By taking these five men on board, I feared my stock of water would not be sufficient to last me across the China sea, till I

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could procure a fresh supply, it being now too late to think of making the passage through St. George's Channel, by New Guinea, Seram, and Boro. On the other hand, I considered the great service these robust young men might render, and therefore wrote to them that I should have no objection to give them a passage to the Leeward Islands or farther, if my stock of water would admit of it; but that if it was not likely to hold out, they must go on shore at the islands to which I was bound. As night was advancing apace, I suggested that one of their number should come off in the ship's boat, vested with full power from the rest to accede to or reject these conditions.

Shortly after 5 P.M. the boat returned with one of the persons sent for, who on being questioned as to the cause of their being at Tucopia, repeated the story of the *Mary* whaler, representing himself to be one of her petty officers; and concluded with informing me that his companions would gladly close with my terms for their passage, but added that they could not prevail on the islanders to take them on board in their canoes. These symptoms of unconquerable distrust and suspicion in the Tucopians, notwithstanding the pains I took to set their fears at rest, betokened a disposition by no means amiable, and evinced much of that implacable

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temper in themselves, which, reasoning from their own feelings, they ascribe to us.

As the night was now too far advanced to send a boat on shore with prudence, I hauled to the wind and stood to the southward, intending to embark the four other men in the morning: a step which, in humanity, I considered myself bound to adopt to a certain degree, as whatever my surmises to their prejudice might be, they should not carry the weight of incontrovertible and substantiated charges.

The officer in charge of the boat mentioned that the lascar had requested him to inform me that the islanders had taken all the fowls and goats from him, and therefore he desired now to join me and quit the island. He sent me a further message, that he would thank me for a cold chisel, some tobacco, beads, and *tokees*, which I considered rather inconsistent with his desire to quit the island; and comparing the whole with his positive refusal yesterday to accompany the ship to Mannicolo, I considered him at best as very fickle in his resolves. I mentioned the matter to Martin Bushart, who discredited his statement of being robbed, as the islanders were in too much awe of me to attempt any thing of the kind while I lay about their coast. This lascar, it seems, whenever he is displeased with the natives,

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threatens to leave them ; on which they usually make him presents, in order to appease him, and beg of him not to leave them and his country, as the whole island belonged to him and Martin Bushart. It was no doubt (continued Martin) one of these whims which had now seized him, and which would probably be propitiated by the islanders in the usual way.

About this time the Tucopian pilot urged on my attention the expediency of proceeding immediately to Mannicolo, which he represented as abounding with reefs; and he strongly dilated upon the advantages of the present moonlight nights for approaching it. On this account I considered the loss of one night's moon of more importance than the services of the four Europeans and the lascar, and therefore at half past seven, the ship being four miles distant from the island, it bearing N.N.W., I bore up W. and by N.½N., and set all sail toward the long-wished-for Mannicolo.

I left a letter with the lascar for Monsieur d'Urville, again acquainting him with the object of the expedition, and stating where he would find me at anchor for a month to come.

I had good observations both east and west of Tucopia, and made the latitude of its centre 12° 17′ S., and its longitude 168° 58′ E.: thus differing in latitude two miles, and in longitude

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the same extent, from the *Barwell's* situation of it.

The island is somewhat triangular in its shape, and may be seven miles in circumference. From the east to the west points is two miles; from the south-west to the north-west points is from one and three-quarters to two miles: the other side, between the east point and north-west point, is about three miles. It can be approached with safety all round, is of considerable height, and may be seen at the distance of forty miles in clear weather, being the highest land I have seen since quitting New Zealand, with the exception of the Grand Mountain of Barilla. Supplies of all kinds, such as yams, cocoa-nuts, &c. are scarce and dear. On re-examining the soundings, I found a ship might anchor in case of great necessity, with the following bearings: The point of the reef which lies off the south-west part of the island bearing S. by W.; the north-west point of the island bearing N.E.½E.; and the landing-place or bluff-head bearing E. by S. The soundings were twenty-seven fathoms of water, distance off shore two cable-lengths: bottom coarse sand and shells. Immediately outside of these soundings there are from fifty to one hundred fathoms water. Within two hundred fathoms of the shore the bank appears to be quite as steep as the hills are on

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the land, a remark, I believe, of very general application.

Rathea, our pilot, pointed out a star by which to steer the ship, and said that I should see Mannicolo in the morning. With his directions in this respect I complied.

I had an inventory taken of all the things received on board by Mr. Russell from the trading officer on Tucopia, in the presence of M. Chaigneau the French gentleman, Mr. Russell the draughtsman, and Doctor Griffiths, the ship's surgeon, describing the sword-handle and cyphers upon it, together with which I enclosed it in a tin box, sealed up, under the signatures of the abovegentlemen and myself. I used this precaution for the following reason: While lying at New Zealand, Mr. Russell informed me that, in conversation with my late chief officer when we were at Van Diemen's Land, that person stated to him that Dr. Tytler had said, that the late second officer of the *St. Patrick* offered to make oath, that the sword-guard brought by me from Tucopia in the *St. Patrick*, had the cyphers engraven or stamped on it by my orders at Calcutta. Astonished and shocked at such unprincipled conduct, it became my bounden duty to question my late second officer, who was then fortunately on board the *Research* as a passenger, relative to the assertion made

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by him to Dr. Tytler; and his evident surprise when I informed him of what I had heard, convinced me of the malignity of Tytler's imputation against him. However, as he was to leave the ship at the Bay of Islands, I deemed it prudent, as well to wipe off the aspersions thrown on his character, as to justify me from the base imposition attempted to be laid to my charge by Tytler, to avail myself of his solemn assurances of the falsehood of the Doctor's statement, and his offer to make oath, that the idea never entered his head of charging me with being guilty of so gross a deception as that of surreptitiously marking the sword-guard. There being no magistrate in New Zealand, I took his statement myself in writing, and administered the oath to him in presence of M. Chaigneau, Dr. Griffiths, and Mr. Russell. To prevent, therefore, a similar attack on my character, should another individual be found equally malignant and slanderous, I took the precaution just stated, in presence of the gentlemen who examined the articles when they came on board.

So far from the sword-guard having been stamped, or in any way marked at Calcutta, there was not a person there who could explain the cyphers or stamp. A French artist of Calcutta, indeed, upon seeing it in Tytler's hands, thought he could make out from it the following

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meaning: "J. F. G. de la Pérouse," an account of which supposed discovery appeared on the next day in the "Hurkaru" newspaper. Tytler, though aware of this fact, nevertheless took upon himself all the credit of solving the enigma on his arrival at Van Diemen's Land, where he swore in an open court of justice, that owing to his discovery of the meaning of those cyphers the expedition was fitted out: all which passed for truth, there being no one at Hobart Town to contradict him but myself, a party in the case, and therefore not competent to give evidence.

The sword-guard was shewn to artists of every description at Calcutta, and to gentlemen of literary and scientific acquirements; but no two of them agreed in their interpretations of the marks upon it. Some made out the names of the *Boussole* and *Astrolabe* from it; others that of *Louis* or *Ludovicus Rex.*

To clear up the whole mystery, I had sent the guard from Calcutta, in January last, to the Minister of Marine of France, at Paris, to be disposed of as the French authorities might think proper; where, I doubted not, the whole would be satisfactorily explained.

The Tucopians are an extremely mild and inoffensive race, hospitable and generous, as their reception of Bushart and the lascar sufficiently proves. They never had direct com-

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munication with any ship before the *Hunter* in 1813; but they said that a very long time before the appearance of the *Hunter*, a ship (the first they had ever seen) came in sight of the island, which they imagined contained evil spirits coming to destroy them. A boat was lowered down from the ship which approached the shore; but they assembled in full force to oppose the landing, and brandished their weapons. The people in the boat made several attempts to land, but without effect, and returned to the ship, which immediately steered to the northward, and was soon out of sight, to the great joy of the Tucopians. I suppose that this ship was the *Barwell*, in 1798. Some years afterwards a canoe and four men were drifted to Tucopia from Rothuma, or the Grenville Island of the *Pandora*, a distance of 465 miles. These visitors were informed of the appearance of the vessel with evil spirits; but the Rothumans undeceived them, and told them they had frequently such visits in Rothuma, and that, far from driving them away, they should have welcomed them, as instead of evil spirits the people on board were good men from a distant country, who would give them cutlery and beads. The *Hunter* was the next vessel that came in sight of Tucopia, and they were very glad when they saw her.

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Some of the customs of the Tucopians are very singular. I was surprised at the number of females on Tucopia, as it was at least treble that of the males. On inquiry, I found that all the male children of each female, except the two first, are strangled the moment after their birth. The reason they assign for this cruel policy is, that if they were allowed to live, the population of their little island would be so dense that its produce could not support them. Tucopia is only seven miles in circumference, but the soil is very luxuriant; yet there generally is a scarcity of provisions. They live chiefly on vegetable food, having neither hogs nor poultry, which are both plentiful on the other islands. They at one time had both, but they were voted common nuisances and exterminated by general consent. The hogs destroyed their plantations of yams, sweet potatoes, tara, and bananas. These, and the bread-fruit and cocoa-nuts, with fish, are what they subsist on; but, owing to the deep water round the island, fish is by no means plentiful. Bushart complained much of the forced abstemiousness of his fare. For the first eleven years of his stay at Tucopia he never tasted animal food, except now and then a little fish. An English whaler, which touched there about a year before the *St. Patrick*, supplied him with two or three

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feasts of pork, which it will readily be believed he relished exceedingly after his long fast.

The island is governed by one principal chief, with several petty ones, who act as magistrates. They live very peaceably, and never have any wars among themselves or with their neighbours. This probably may be attributed to their Pythagorean diet. But it does not restrain an intuitive propensity for thieving; and though the punishment in case of detection is very severe, the lower classes often rob each other's gardens and plantations. If the thief is caught, he is carried before one of the chiefs, and if convicted, his property and ground are forfeited to the individual he has robbed.

A plurality of wives is allowed. The wives are exceedingly jealous of each other, and if the husband bestows his caresses more freely on one than another, the despised one takes it to heart so much, that she puts an end to her life, either by jumping out of a high tree or hanging herself: self-murder among the females is for this reason of daily occurrence. The marriage ceremony is curious. When a man wishes to take a wife, he first politely consults the lady he has placed his affections on, and if she consents and her parents agree, he sends three or four of his male friends at night, to take her away by force as it were. He then sends pre-

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sents of mats and provisions to the relations of the bride, and invites them to a feast at his house, which usually lasts for two days. They are very particular as to the fidelity of married women. If a wife be caught sinning, she and her innamorato are put to death by the husband or his friends. But there is no restraint placed on the inclination of single females at all. Widows, however, are not permitted to take a second husband.

When a child is born, the female friends of the father and mother assemble and bring presents to the *nouvelle accouchée*. All the female children are allowed to live.

When a native dies, his friends come to his house, and with much ceremony roll him carefully up in a new mat, and bury him in a deep hole prepared near his dwelling. It is a very curious, and to those who disbelieve in the reappearance of departed spirits, an unaccountable fact, that the belief is universal among the inhabitants of the South-Sea Islands; and they surely could not have imbibed the idea from the new world.

In each village on Tucopia there is a large building, called in their language the 'spirit house,' set apart for the use of disembodied spirits, which are supposed to reside in this building. On the approach of bad weather and thunder and lightning, which alarm the

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islanders extremely, they flock to the spirit house, and remain there while the storm continues, making offerings of cocoa-nuts, cava root, and other eatables. They imagine the storm is caused by the presiding spirit, who when he is displeased goes to the top of the highest land in the island, and manifests his wrath by raising a tempest. When he is appeased by the offerings, he returns to the 'hall of ghosts.'

Their mode of cooking is common to almost all barbarous nations. A circular hole is made in the earth, about one foot in depth and three in diameter. Into this hole they put a quantity of fire-wood, and when it is pretty well burnt, throw on it a number of small black stones, about a quarter of a pound in weight. These soon become red hot, and as the fire-wood is consumed they fall into the excavation, are levelled over the lower part and sides, and covered neatly with green leaves or grass not apt to catch fire. On these again are placed the yams, bread-fruit, sweet potatoes, or whatever is to be cooked. Three or four tier of leaves are put over the food, and the new earth dug out of the hole is thrown over all, and well beat down and smoothed with a paddle, so as to prevent a particle of heat escaping. In about an hour the clay is scraped off, and the provisions come out nicely baked and remark-

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ably clean. The inhabitants of each house have an oven of this sort prepared every evening, and at sunset make a hearty meal. If there is any thing left, it is reserved for the next morning's breakfast; if there be nothing, they make a very slender breakfast on a cocoa-nut or a few plantains.

The Tucopians are of a bright copper colour, and use the betel-nut and chunam. They resemble the inhabitants of Tongataboo in stature and colour, and also those of Anuto, the Cherry Island of the *Pandora*. They are exceedingly clean in their persons, and bathe several times in the day in fresh water. There is one fresh-water lake on the south side of the island, of great depth, on which there are generally many wild ducks.

The only craft the Tucopians have are small canoes, that will not carry more than six men in a sea-way. They confine their voyages to Anuto Island, about sixty miles to windward, and Mannicolo, about one hundred and eighteen miles to leeward. During the months of December, January, February, and March, the north-west wind prevails at Tucopia, with heavy rains, thunder, and lightning. This I suppose to be the north-west monsoon, which prevails in the Banda seas during the same months. It blows with great violence at intervals.

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7th.—Moderate trades with passing light rain squalls. At 10 A.M. Mannicolo came in sight, and we stood for it. Our latitude observed at noon was 11° 45′ S., longitude 167° 23′ E., at which time the centre of the island bore from us W. ½ N., distance nine miles. On approaching it I presented the pilot with two yards of scarlet, two yards of blue gurrahs, and a palampore. He promised to keep the scarlet till his arrival at Tucopia, when he would present it as an offering to his god.

On getting within three or four leagues of the land he wished me to stand round the south point, where his friends resided, at a place which he called Dennema, near where he said the two ships had been wrecked. I inquired how the reefs lay in that quarter, and he told me that they projected a considerable way into the sea. As the day was far spent, and the sun to the westward of us, which might prevent us from seeing any dangers that might be in the way, and an anchorage might be obtained in a bay near the north-east point of the island, it was my intention to anchor there first, and send the pilot with the two boats to his friend's abode. On his return, if we succeeded in finding anchorage there, I proposed to go round to see and make them presents. He did not appear to relish my proposal of not visiting his friends

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first, and with all the rhetoric in his power represented the dangers to which I should be exposed on that part of the land. The people, he said, fought with large bows and poisoned arrows, the least scratch from one of which proved fatal. He likewise strenuously besought me not to remain at the island more than three days: for if I did, that my people would be seized with a malady peculiar to the place, called by him the *mackareddy* (or cold), which would carry them all off, and he represented the dreadful way in which people shivered who unfortunately were afflicted with it. To heighten the effect of this dismal picture he added, that if the ship should strike the ground so as to be unable to get off again, we should all be devoured by sharks, which were very large and numerous upon these coasts.

Finding my resolution was not to be shaken by his eloquence, and that I was determined to survey the reefs in the boats before I visited his friends round the south point of the island, he began to coincide with my views, saying he would land at the north-east point in the morning and proceed over land to his friend's residence, stop there one night, and then prevail on him to come on board the ship with such things as he possessed belonging to the wreck, when (added he) we must sail for Tucopia. I

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told him, that before departing from the island I must see Paiow: to which he strongly objected, saying there were no people there. "So much the better," replied I, "for in that case we shall not be interrupted by the natives, as I wish to see the spot where the ship or brig was built."

Finding me equally inflexible in this determination, and resolved to visit all parts of the island, he inquired what depth of water I would require for the ship to let go her *stone* in, for so he called the anchor, stones being used by these islanders for the same purpose in their canoes when fishing. I gave him to understand that we required five or six fathoms, when he smiled, saying, "Let us go on shore; that will do."—He told me then that he had imagined that the ship was as much under water as her mast-heads were above it.

The day being far spent, I hauled to the wind for the purpose of making short tacks till daylight next morning, and gave orders for two boats' crews to hold themselves in readiness to set off at 4 A.M. in search of a harbour or anchorage.

8*th*.—The first and middle part of this day, light airs from the north-east rendered it unsafe to approach the shore with the ship. Mannicolo island was in sight, the north-east point of it appearing to be a separate island. There

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seemed to be an entrance from the east, round the south side of the point; and another from north, on the west side of the point; in which case there would most likely be found a safe harbour between it and the larger one

At 5 A.M. I despatched two fast-sailing whale boats, with five oars in each besides an officer and one sitter: the Tucopian interpreter and Bushart were the sitters. Each boat was provided with two days' provisions and liquor, and armed with four muskets, four pistols, four boarding-pikes, five cutlasses, and eight cartouche-boxes.

I directed the officer in command to land the Tucopian when he wished, and if he met with a friendly reception, and required Martin Bushart also to land, to permit him to do so. I gave positive injunctions to him, on no pretence whatever to land himself, or suffer any of the people in the boats except the two already stated, and on no account to quarrel with the natives. Should they steal any thing, he was to take no notice of it; should they shoot their arrows, he was not to resent it, and in no case to have recourse to fire-arms unless their lives were in real danger, as the drawing of a single trigger might defeat the whole object of the expedition, and by keeping at a bow-shot distance from the shore, they could remain in

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perfect safety. If I could get the ship to anchor, I did not entertain the slightest apprehension of being able to find friends among the islanders; therefore the officer was to make as speedy a search for anchorage as possible, and not to stop away longer than twelve o'clock.

I committed to his charge the following presents, to be distributed among the first of the islanders the Tucopian might chance to meet, by way of conciliation, as I knew that by behaving liberally at first, we should at once establish for ourselves a good name among them, and induce others to visit the ship in the hope of being similarly enriched by our bounty:—Ten pairs of scissors, ten clasp-knives, ten chisels, fifty large and small fish-hooks, ten strings of beads, two dozen gilt buttons, four American axes.

The north-east point of the island bore S. by W., distance nine miles. At noon I observed breakers extending a long way out from the east side of the north-east point, and also north from its west side.

At 1 P.M. the day was clear and calm, with hot sultry weather. Supposing rain not far distant, fired a six-pounder as a signal for the boats to return; and at 2, not seeing them, fired a second. We were then not more than five or six miles from the north-east point, and had a

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clear view of a large bay running in south on the west side of it. The bay appeared five miles deep and two broad at the entrance. Perceived also smoke rising at two different places a considerable way inside of its entrance. At a little past 5 P.M. the boats hove in sight, and night coming on before they reached the ship, we fired guns occasionally, and burnt blue lights to guide them.

The boats having arrived, the officer gave the following account of their day's expedition:

"We pulled from the ship toward the north-east point of Mannicolo, and got soundings on a reef at a distance from the point of two or three miles, from whence we pulled in search of a passage into the bay, rowing alongside of the reef until we reached half the length of the north side of Mannicolo, without succeeding. There we found a small island on the reef, distant from the main island from one mile and a-half to two miles. We then crossed the reef and pulled up along shore, toward the large bay seen from the ship: our soundings were from twenty-five to thirty fathoms water. On entering this bay we steered up it on a southerly course for four miles, when we could plainly discern that what we supposed to have been the north-east point of Mannicolo was a large island separated from the main by a passage about one

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cable's length wide, with from twenty-five to three fathoms soundings in it. We passed through this narrow passage, steering east, into another very fine bay, with a large open passage into it from the east. After clearing the narrow passage we observed to our left a village, to which we approached very close without being perceived by the inhabitants. However, after the lapse of a little time they observed us, and sounding their conch shells, all was instantly bustle and confusion. The dread of invasion seemed to have possessed them, and all the villagers flew to arms, rushing impetuously down the beach, to the number of fifty or sixty, armed with bows and arrows. Rathea (the interpreter from Tucopia) said that this village was named Davey, and that he had resided for some time in it. The armed villagers having harangued us from the shore in an unintelligible language, Rathea stood up in the boat, and in turn spoke to them, informing them that we were friends, and had come to court their good-will and make them presents. Being asked whence we came, he replied, "from Tucopia," and that our ship was outside: on which they threw down their arms, brought peace offerings of green boughs and threw them into the water, inviting Rathea to land, which he instantly did. He was very kindly received by the natives,

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who embraced him affectionately as an old acquaintance, and exhibited other marks of satisfaction at seeing him. Rathea then called to Martin Bushart to land, which he did, and was welcomed by the strangers, among whom he distributed some beads, an axe, and other articles of iron-ware. A short time having been spent in mutual civilities, our interpreters re-embarked, and we continued our route to the eastern entrance of the channel, where stood a second village, the inhabitants of which did not seem at all alarmed, old men, women, and children, coming down to the reef, to behold the boats and invite us on shore. These tokens of friendship were, no doubt, occasioned on this side of the bay by seeing us so well received at Davey. The chief of this place with two other men came alongside the boats in a canoe, and we made him a small present: for which he appeared very thankful, promising to come off to the ship to-morrow. We found the reef to project from two to three miles off to sea from the island just now discovered."

While Martin Bushart was on shore he visited one of the houses, from whence he procured in exchange four iron adzes of native manufacture. The natives said that they procured the material for making them from the ships wrecked off Paiow and Wannow. Indeed there appeared to

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be no scarcity of this metal on shore, as the people in the boats observed that every man had a small adze of native manufacture.

The islanders asked Rathea, whom they called Saccho, from what place the ship came, and if we intended to fight with them. He assured them of the contrary, and said that I was a great king, now upon a voyage to see all the islands in the world, visit their chiefs, and make them presents. That I had already been at New Zealand, Tongataboo, Rothuma, and Tucopia, and had loaded the inhabitants with precious gifts; and that having lived among and experienced many civilities from the Mancolans, he had, in return for their kindness, prevailed on the great king to visit Mannicolo also, and had expressly embarked with him to shew him the way. That now he had arrived, he would doubtless feel happy at seeing the inhabitants, and would bountifully disperse beads, scissors, knives, &c. to all his friends here. With such an explanation they were mightily delighted, and promised by no means to molest my boats, but to assist me to the utmost of their power with yams, cocoa-nuts, and whatever else their island afforded.

This evening I renewed the subject of a trip to Paiow with Rathea; who continued stedfastly opposed to it, making use of all his Indian cunning to dissuade me from going there.

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Resolved however to proceed, and desiring to obtain Rathea's consent in an amicable way, I had recourse to my old and never-failing expedient of dreaming. I told him that while in my own country I dreamt that I went to Paiow, where I discovered a chest concealed having five hundred axes in it; that the chest had been buried under ground at Paiow by the persons who had been wrecked there; that I was also directed to take along with me Rathea and his friend from Tucopia, and likewise his Mannicolan friend, to whom I was to give fifty axes, and to Rathea a hundred. This pleased him exceedingly; but he said that he feared the axes could not be found, as heavy rains and an earthquake had since thrown a hill upon the spot where the ship was built, every thing being covered up by it. Here our conversation for the present ended.

To the islands, bays, capes, and headlands discovered this morning I have given the following names, in honour of the noblemen and gentlemen after whom they are respectively called, as a testimonial of my respect for their public virtues and philanthropic conduct, and as an acknowledgment of the obligations under which I consider myself placed by them. The first island discovered on the reef bears the name of "Lord Amherst's Island," after the right hon. the Governor-general of India;

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the next is, "Lord Combermere's Island," after his Excellency the commander-in-chief of the forces in India The cape opposite to Lord Amherst's Island "Cape Harington," after the hon. member of council at Calcutta: the next cape I have called "Cape Hayes," after Commodore John Hayes, master-attendant at Calcutta. The large bay formed between Lord Cambermere's Island and Cape Hayes, I have called "Charles Lushington's Bay," after the chief secretary to the Bengal government; and the bay formed on the south-east side of Lord Combermere's Island, "W. B. Bayley's Bay," after the hon. member of council at Calcutta.

Notwithstanding the account received of a passage being discovered from the eastward leading into Bayley's Bay, I did not deem it safe to adopt it, being on the weather side of the island, with a heavy sea at all times rolling in before the south-east trades, which must render it difficult to get the ship out of such a situation against both wind and sea; I therefore determined to seek a more advantageous harbour.

9th.—Light airs from the eastward, with calms the first and middle parts of the day: towards night a light steady breeze sprung up from the same quarter.

At 9 A.M. sent two armed boats, under the

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command of Mr. Russell the draughtsman, and the first officer, to try for anchorage on the west side of Lord Amherst's Island. At 11 A.M. I espied a canoe coming out of Charles Lushington's Bay, which at noon reached the ship, rowed by one middle-aged man and two youths. They approached with less fear than I anticipated, one of them standing up occasionally and holding up a cocoa-nut. I made a sign to them with a white flag to approach, and gave the end of a rope from the stern to them, which they held on by. The eldest pointed to his cocoa-nuts, which he named, after the general manner of the South Sea islanders, "*enir*," and gave me to understand that he wanted *tokees* (iron-work) for them. He also pointed to a small bit of cloth, which he called *mallow*, and intimated that he wished for some of the same quality.

This being, I considered, the first Mannicolan who ever ventured out to a ship at sea, I was determined to encourage him; I therefore handed to him in the canoe two pieces of Tongataboo cloth, each six yards long and two wide, six pieces, each about one yard square, two yards of blue gurrah, one adze, twenty fish-hooks large and small, with two strings of red beads, for which articles I could have loaded my long-boat at Tongataboo with cocoa-nuts; but the master of this canoe, more economical,

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sent me up only fifteen nuts, instead of all in his canoe, which I might fairly have expected. However, I calculated erroneously in my expectations, as I had to pay dear for the remaining six cocoa-nuts, a small broiled fish, and a very large claw of a crab, which I did the more cheerfully, with a view to promote a free intercourse with them, which would infallibly be the result of my treating them liberally. For this reason I was more generous than usual, as it was my interest to entice natives from all parts of the island, to discover from them what memorials remained among them of the shipwrecked la Pérouse, such as medals, silver spoons, sword-guards, copper or brass with inscriptions, &c. I therefore brought out another piece of cloth, and called to the natives in the canoe to receive it; but, to my utter surprise, they pushed off, saying they had nothing more to give in return. I then cast it off from the line and threw it into the water, that they might pick it up. Convinced that my offer was disinterested, and that I did not expect a return from them, yet they would not take it into the canoe, but made the best of their way to shore. Whether this behaviour originated in innate honesty (a failing with which the generality of South Sea islanders cannot be justly charged), or that they had already sufficient of the article on board, or whether they dreaded some design

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on my part, cloaked under the specious shew of generosity, I could not decide.

At 4 o'clock four other canoes came alongside, three of them paddled by three men each, and the fourth by four men, which had a mast and sail, and was somewhat larger than the others. They brought a few cocoa-nuts, a little *tara*,* and four small fish, which had been killed with arrows (the people of Mannicolo being excellent marksmen); but as the arrows with which these fish had been killed might be poisoned, I ordered them to be thrown into the sea.

In one of the canoes was a man with a very pleasing countenance, whose first inquiry was for Rathea. I found that I could understand several words which he spoke, though I had never before visited this island. He asked where was Rathea of Tucopia, and where was Billow (meaning Martin Bushart). I made him understand that they were both on shore. This man was employed by his countrymen to trade for them, and he behaved more liberally than the proprietor of the first canoe with whom I had dealings that morning. I threw him a rope by which he made the canoe fast, and then I lowered another,to which he attached the several

* A species of root often weighing three or four pounds, used as an article of food in the South Sea islands, as the bread-fruit, potatoes, and yams, are elsewhere; but the *tara* is much superior to any of these.

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articles he intended to dispose of successively, as I hauled them up, nor did he demand any thing in return till the whole cargo was transshipped, and he then appeared perfectly content with the articles I thought proper to send him in exchange. The articles most sought for here I find are Tongataboo and Tucopia cloths. They appear to have abundance of iron tools, which consequently decrease in their relative value to other articles. The iron was no doubt procured originally from the unfortunate la Pérouse's ships, and has been manufactured in a rude manner by them into tools, after the pattern of those used by the Frenchmen in building their brig.

In one of the canoes was an aged chief, of about sixty-five or seventy years old, who I supposed to be the man that promised to come on board to-day when the boats were ashore yesterday; and I might have procured much valuable information from him, had not my interpreters been unluckily on shore at the time.

The Mannicolans are exactly the same description of people as inhabit Santa Cruz, which they call Indenney. Their implements of war, ornaments, clothing, &c. are all similar. I had an interview with several of the Santa Cruz people in May 1826, and was able to form my comparisons accurately from personal observation. They are jet black with woolly hair,

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which is combed backward and tied behind, being then bagged, and hanging from the top of the head to the pole of the neck, resting on the shoulders. They have a band about four inches wide girt round the waist, from which a bit of cloth, such as is used among the islands in the Pacific, is made fast in front, passed between the legs, and then attached to the girdle behind. They have necklaces of white shells, several bracelets of a white and black colour on the arm above the elbow, and generally from ten to twenty rings of tortoise-shell suspended from each ear. The gristle of the nose is perforated, and two white feathers of the domestic cock or hen introduced transversely. Their lips and teeth are red, which is occasioned by using lime and betle-nut. They want but one appendage more, *viz.* a pair of horns, to complete the appearance of his infernal majesty, as represented in the picture shops of London, for they are already furnished with a tail in the Fan-palm, which they thrust into their belts behind, and which tends not a little to heighten the resemblance.

At half past four the canoes left the ship, with assurances of returning next morning. A drawing and description of their canoes will accompany this work, for the gratification of the curious.

The boat returned about sunset unsuccessful,

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having sailed along the reef from Lord Amherst's Island to the north-west point of the main island, and there observed the coast and reef to take a south-west direction. The town or village of Wannow stands on this spot, which I have called Murderers' Point, in memory of a number of Frenchmen who must have been killed here, on escaping from the wreck of their vessel which was cast away off this part.

Within the reef was deep water in most places. But the reef runs along at a distance of from one to one and a-half and two miles off shore, without the least appearance of a passage through. The officers were of opinion, however, that by tracing the reef farther to the westward an entrance might be found.

10*th*.—Light variable airs. Being of opinion that there was a passage from sea through the reef into Charles Lushington Bay, I despatched two armed boats at 5 A.M., with directions to pull in for the extreme point of the reef off Lord Combermere's Island, and row close alongside of it, so as to discover a passage, if such existed, and on no account to omit examining every fathom of the reef as they passed along. This last injunction I laid particular stress on, being apprehensive that the last survey was made with less care than the importance of the question at issue demanded. We were at this

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time about five miles to northward of the island, and consequently not more than two miles from the reefs.

Having expected some canoes from the shore to-day, I detained Rathea and Martin Bushart on board. At noon four canoes came off, and I succeeded in persuading one man out of each to come on deck, which I accomplished by having Rathea in the ship. Among our visitors was a man whom I supposed to be about sixty or sixty-five years of age, from whom I expected to obtain most important information; but I was baulked by the stupidity of my Tucopian interpreter. The Tucopian language is a mixed dialect, compounded of the Otaheitan, New Zealand, and Feejee languages, all of which I understand very well. Thus I could comprehend the greater part of what Rathea said, while I was unable to ask him a single question. To obviate this difficulty, I employed Bushart as an intermediate interpreter between him and me; but was much vexed to find that, notwithstanding Martin's long residence upon Tucopia (about thirteen years), his knowledge of that language was very imperfect. To add further to my annoyance, Bushart was a Prussian, and not thoroughly acquainted with the English language, in which I was forced to put my questions to him; and he, to the best of his ability, communicated it to the Tucopian, who,

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without repeating it to the Mannicolan chief, took upon himself to return the answer.

This was highly provoking, particularly as I could not acquaint him with the height of my displeasure in sufficiently expressive terms (for, as Swift justly observes, every thing suffers by *translation* except a bishop). I gave the Tucopian, however, to understand, through Bushart, that I was already in possession of every thing he knew on the subject; that at the time the event which formed the subject of my inquiry happened he was only a child, and lived at Tucopia; that I wished to know what the Mannicolan chief had to say on the subject, who was better capable of answering me than he; and that if he again presumed to return answers without first questioning the chief, I should be extremely angry.

After this, I desired Martin to inform him that I wished to know from the Mannicolan chief how many European skulls were now in the spirit-house at Wannow. The stupid interpreter replied from himself that they had all rotted away. I repeated my orders to him to inquire of the chief, which with much reluctance he did; who answered, "There are two; and the teeth in the jaws are as long as my middle finger, and are like those of a pig."

Q. "Are the natives of Indenney in the habit of visiting this island?"—Here my Tucopian

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interpreter again imposed his own answer upon me, by saying "No." I told him that I would not believe a word he said, and desired him to inquire of the Mannicolan chief. His reply was, "Formerly several canoes visited us, when the iron from the wrecked ships was plentiful; but their visits have since been less frequent. However, some occasionally come yet, and lately a canoe from Indenney with five men arrived at this island."

This was the second proof I received of Rathea's incorrect statements to me; and I therefore gave him to understand that if he attempted to deceive me any more, I would stop no longer here, but return to my own country. Not to weary them too much at first, I ordered the drummer and fifer to entertain my visitors with some music, which very much surprised and diverted them. This being over, I resumed my inquiries as follows.

Q. "Have you ever seen any white men before?"—*A.* "No."

Q. "Did not you see the people who built the ship at Paiow?"—*A.* "No. I live at this side of the island, and we are constantly at war with the people residing at Paiow and Wannow. The chief who built the ship at Paiow wore clothes like you."—The *Research*, be it recollected, was at this time on the east side of Mannicolo; Wannow is on the west side.

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Q. "How were the ships lost?"—*A.* "The island is surrounded by reefs at a distance off shore. They got on the rocks at night, and one ship grounded near Wannow, and immediately went to the bottom."

Q. "Were none of the people from this ship saved?"—*A.* "Those that escaped from the wreck landed at Wannow, where they were killed by the natives. Several also were devoured by the sharks, while swimming from the ship."

Q. "How many people were killed at Wannow?"—*A.* "Two at Wannow, two at Amma, and two more near to Paiow. These were all the white men who were killed."

Q. "If there were only six white men killed on shore, how, or from whence, came the sixty sculls that were in the spirit-house at Wannow, as described by Ta Fow, the hump-backed Tucopian, and others?"—*A.* "These were the heads of people killed by the sharks."

Q. "But would not the sharks eat the heads as well as the bodies of the white men?"—No answer.

Q. "How was the ship lost near Paiow?"—*A.* "She got on the reef at night, and afterwards drifted over it into a good place. She did not immediately break up, for the people had time to remove things from her, with which they built a two-masted ship."

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Q. " How many moons were they in building it."—*A.* " Plenty of moons."

Q. " How did they procure any thing to eat?" —*A.* " They used to go into the *tara* fields, and pull up the roots, and then plant the tops for a new crop. After they sailed away, the people put their fields in order again."

Q. " Had these people no friends among the natives."—*A.* " No. They were ship spirits; their noses were two hands long before their faces. Their chief used always to be looking at the sun and stars, and beckoning to them. There was one of them who stood as a watch at their fence, with a bar of iron in his hand, which he used to turn round his head. This man stood only upon one leg."

This last answer must import that the cocked-hats worn by the officers were mistaken by the natives for natural appendages to their heads;* the chief beckoning to the sun and stars, the officer taking astronomical observations; and the man on one leg at the fence with the bar of iron in his hand, a centinel with his musket. In order to ascertain if the cocked-hats caused the enormous addition ascribed by the natives to the Frenchmen's noses, I sent for my cocked-

* Just as the primitive Mexicans, it is said, supposed their Spanish invaders, with the horses on which they were mounted, to form one body; and a similar notion may have given rise to the fables of the Centaurs.

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hat, put it on, and inquired if my nose was similar to the white men's noses at Paiow, but could obtain no answer to my query.

The Mannicolan chief's examination having terminated, I presented each of my four visitors with two pieces of Tongataboo cloth, an adze, a knife, beads, &c.; whereupon one of them became my friend, by exchanging names and kissing me, a form used throughout these islands when two persons bind themselves in a link of mutual amity. I presented my new relation with a live pig: on receiving which he hugged the little grunter in his arms, and then handed it into his canoe, promising, as he departed, to return next day and bring with him a quantity of the poison gum for me; a present for which I could not help being extremely grateful.

I directed Martin to ask my newly-acquired friend if he knew what had become of the two Frenchmen left by the people of the wreck at this island, as related to me by the lascar at Tucopia, when on my voyage in the *St. Patrick.* After some hesitation, he answered by relating the same story as that which was told to Rathea and Bushart on shore yesterday, when making a similar inquiry, namely, that one of them died, and the other ran away with the party among whom he lived, who, being perpetually at war with and harassed by another tribe, took to their canoes and quitted the island. I deter-

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mined to exert myself to the utmost to develop the mystery attending the fate of these two men, and if possible to afford them relief.

I inquired of the natives if they knew any thing concerning the guns seen by the lascar; but they denied that they did. They said that there were several large pieces of iron remaining on the island, which were carried about by the natives as they succeeded in conquering each other's districts. They likewise mentioned that at Denimah there was a very large piece of iron, which was too heavy to be removed; it was, therefore, not shifted about as the other pieces were, but served to make fast their canoes.

Rathea now told me, that after the ships had been wrecked, several pieces of the plank had drifted to Tucopia, one of which his friends picked up there, and that it was still on a loft in his brother's house, where he had shewn it to the lascar. I replied that his story was improbable, for how could plank drift to windward against the trades. He met my objection by saying that the ships were wrecked at the time the north-west wind blew, or, as he expressed it, "when the wind blew from leeward," and that on our return to Tucopia he would sell me the plank. I asked him why he did not let me have the iron bolts which he brought from this island, the day on which I sent ashore at Tucopia to purchase all the things there

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which had been brought from Mannicolo. He excused himself by saying that his brother did not wish to part with these bolts, and had secreted them to prevent him from bringing them to me.

Notwithstanding the complaint I have made against Rathea, I must do him the justice to say that without him I could not have effected any thing in the way of friendly intercourse with the Mannicolans; as the greater number of them had never seen an European before, and considered myself and the other persons on board wearing hats and clothing, as ghosts, although Rathea laboured to undeceive them in that respect. It was, no doubt, under the same superstitious impression that they treated the shipwrecked Frenchmen so barbarously.

If I may be allowed to express an opinion as to their dispositions, they appear to be tractable, generous, and grateful; and so independent in their principles, as not to receive a single article without making what they consider an equivalent return. The confidence with which they pulled off to the ship, six or seven miles from the land, unarmed, marks them as a people not comprehending in themselves even such a thing as the breach of a friendly compact, and unsuspicious of such baseness in others.

About 4 P.M. the boats returned; when the

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officer in charge reported that he had discovered a channel leading into Charles Lushington's Bay of sufficient depth for a ship of the largest size. The course steered along the reef towards it was S.W., and the course up the bay from it S.½E. To this passage I have given the name of Commodore Hayes' Channel. The winds prevailing at this season from the south-eastward, I could not enter this channel without tacking, which it was too narrow to admit of, as I understood, although its depth of water was from twenty-five to thirty fathoms. I there-determined to pass round to the east side of Lord Combermere's Island, and anchor in Bayley's Bay. Should the wind not be favourable for getting out from the bay by the same passage through which we entered it, I proposed sailing to the westward, through Charles Lushington's Bay, and out to sea by Commodore Hayes' Channel.

11*th*.—Not wishing to enter Bayley's Bay without re-examining the channel leading into it, I despatched two boats, manned and armed as usual, at 5 A.M., to perform the above duty. There being a fresh breeze from the southward, I stood off to the eastward with all plain sail set.

At half past seven o'clock I stood back towards the land, and by nine brought the north point of Lord Combermere's Island to bear S.S.W. At this time I was a mile distant from

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a detached patch of coral, on which the sea broke lightly every ten or fifteen minutes. It might be distant from the north point of Lord Combermere's Island three miles, and separated by a narrow channel of half a mile wide from the reef which surrounds this part of the island.

Daylight brought to my view the dangers to which I was exposed, when I hove-to this morning to send the boats off for the shore: had I stood on to the westward fifteen minutes longer, the *Research* would have shared a similar fate to that of la Pérouse's ships on those hidden dangers just described. I could perceive at the same time some detached patches extending out from the east side of the island, with the sea breaking on them occasionally. From the south-east point of Mannicolo Island there appeared a ledge of rocks extending a considerable distance off, upon which the sea broke very high.

Towards noon the wind was variable, from E.S.E. to S.E., S. and S.W., with heavy rain. Being now off the eastern entrance into Bayley's Bay, and not seeing the boats coming out, I was very uneasy, the weather having a very stormy appearance, and the land being occasionally enveloped in clouds. At half past twelve I fired a six-pounder, and shortly after a second, as a signal for the boats to return. At two o'clock I lost sight of the land in thick clouds and rain. I kept standing off and on

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towards the reef under easy sail, expecting the boats, which appeared in view at half past three. They had heard the last gun on shore, and came off without delay. The officer's report was favourable, having found a good port with a clear entrance, and plenty of fresh water at a convenient distance from the anchorage.

The Mannicolans who had promised to visit us to-day were prevented by the badness of the weather. The people in the boats saw several of the islanders while sounding the harbour. A few of them came to the boats in their canoes, with a perfect confidence, not having one offensive weapon with them. The officer presented those gentry with fish-hooks and glass beads, and received in return cocoa-nuts and sugar-canes.

12th.—Strong south-east trades, with a very high sea. I had all sail set throughout the day beating to windward, but could not reach the anchorage, occasioned by the roughness of the sea throwing the ship to leeward.

My Tucopian interpreter was rather indisposed last night and this day, and anxious to get on shore to see his friends. I had some further conversation with him respecting the two ships wrecked off this island, and asked if the dreadful disaster happened during the night or day. He replied, that at daylight one morning the Wannow people went out from their houses, and found several white men with the

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kind of noses before described on the beach, and supposing them to be ghosts, immediately killed them. At this time the shore was strewed with dead bodies, very much mutilated by the sharks; some without heads, the bowels of others torn out, and some with their legs off. The ship to which they belonged went down in deep water after getting on the reef, and nothing was saved from it. The people who escaped to shore from the ship off Paiow made peace with the chief of that place by presenting him with a large axe.

I inquired if they landed in their boats, to which he replied, "No; that part of the wreck floated on shore with them." I said that was improbable; for if so, how could they bring things with them to build a two-masted ship? He replied, that he did not well know how the accident occurred: that it was a long time ago, and suggested that further inquiry upon the subject should be dropped until his friend Nero, the chief of Davey district, came on board, who was an old man, and would state the particulars to me more satisfactorily than he could.

I produced the bells and four muleteers' rattles, with half of the brass globe, observing that if the ship was lost as he described, how could these things be saved from her, as they would not float on shore. He said that several boxes were thrown up by the sea from the wreck,

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and the natives used also to dive at low water into the ship, and recover what they could from her.

Of late years few things have gone from Mannicolo to Tucopia: all things procured by me, as well on the last as this voyage, at the latter island, having been carried thither by one of its chiefs, named Thamaca, a great sailor and fighting man, having made during his life-time ten voyages to Mannicolo, from whence, in one of his excursions, he brought two of the natives to his own island. Some years ago he set sail for Anutha, or the Cherry Island, with some canoes, and was lost at sea. Since then the intercourse between Mannicolo and Tucopia has rapidly declined, and is now very limited. In Thamaca's life-time the Mannicolans behaved with much respect to all Tucopians, because they dreaded this chief; but after his death they soon altered their behaviour, being no longer in dread of his fleets, which to the number of from five to ten, and sometimes twelve canoes, were wont to make a descent upon their coast.

I inquired if any Tucopians were on this island at the time the ships were wrecked. He replied, "Yes, there was one named Tafow, a hump-backed man, who is still living at Tucopia. That while he lived at Mannicolo it was with the aged chief who had honoured me with

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his company for a short time on Monday last. Thamaca arrived here shortly after the wreck of the Frenchmen, and saw their mangled limbs lying about the beach. At this time the Tucopians were unacquainted with ships and white men, and from the Mannicolan's accounts regarded them as spirits. They had seen but one ship before, the *Hunter*, but had no communication with her; and the first white man with whom they had ever conversed was on board of the *Elizabeth* cutter, tender to the Bengal ship *Hunter*, in September 1813, of which cutter I was commander.

I observed the island of Mannicolo to be very mountainous on the east and north sides, with the hills rising from the sea, and completely covered with impenetrable jungles to the very summits. Where there happens to be a low spot of clear ground or plain close to the water-side, the natives build their huts.

Judging from the specimens of their vegetable productions offered to sale, the soil or climate, or both, combine to stunt them very much, their cocoa-nuts, sugar-canes, bread-fruits, &c. being of a very dwarfish size. These causes inclined me to suppose the island but thinly inhabited, in which I found myself not mistaken from the accounts of my interpreter. From him I understood that the inland parts of the country were totally uninhabited, the strongest tribe upon

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the coast not being able at any time to bring more than thirty-six fighting men into the field. In their wars they neither give nor accept of quarter, carrying off the women and children of their conquered enemy, making slaves and wives of them as occasion requires.

Snakes as long as a Tucopian canoe (about twenty feet), and as thick as a man's arm, are numerous in the woods and jungles: they will boldly attack a man. The poison with which the natives tip their arrows is not a gum, but a composition made into a gummy consistence. It is manufactured from the fruit of a tree of a globular shape, pulled from the bough and the inside scraped out with a shell; it is then mixed with lime and betel-nut, also scraped as the first; the whole mass is then kneaded by the hand into the consistence of a tough gum, and in this state put upon the arrows, which are then rubbed over with a nut that gives them the red appearance. These arrows are supposed by the islanders to retain their poisonous qualities for several years. There are a few fowls and pigs domesticated about the native houses, but no dogs upon the island. There are also several streams of water, where a few wild ducks resort.

The trade between Tucopia and the Mannicolos consists chiefly in an exchange of *tappar* (the cloth peculiar to the South Sea Islands)

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manufactured at Tucopia, with some fine mats, for which the Mannicolos barter an inferior kind of pearl shell, shell ornaments for the arms, head, and neck, also necklaces of a shell resembling the cowry shells of the Maldives, near Ceylon, in the East-Indies, and the bows and arrows of the Mannicolos; which last, however, are not used in Tucopia, where the people are peaceably inclined, and wage no wars, either foreign or domestic. For a number of years the Tucopians have been supplied with iron, china-plates, small brass bells, glass bottles, beads, and other articles of a similar nature from the Mannicolos, who obtained them from the wrecked French ships.

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CHAPTER III.

OCCURRENCES AT MANNICOLO.

13th Sept. 1827.—Moderate trades throughout the day, thermometer in the shade standing at 82°. Shortly after daylight found the ship to be well to the eastward of Bayley's Bay: at 7 A.M. I stood for it under easy sail. In consequence of keeping to the southward of the course steered out by the boats, we met with a number of coral banks and patches with three, four, five and six fathoms water on them. Close to the edges of these truly dangerous banks, bottom could not be found with a line of twenty fathoms. We were sailing over one of them for ten minutes, but by keeping to the northward we soon got into deep water.

Having rounded the point which forms the south head of the entrance to the bay, the anchor was let go in thirty-fathoms water with fifty fathoms cable, distance from the point of a reef off *Research*'s head one mile, which bore from the ship E. by S. We were immediately surrounded by canoes to about the number of fifteen or sixteen, carrying from three to five men each. They brought a few articles for barter, but seemed totally ignorant of their relative value; being probably guided by my

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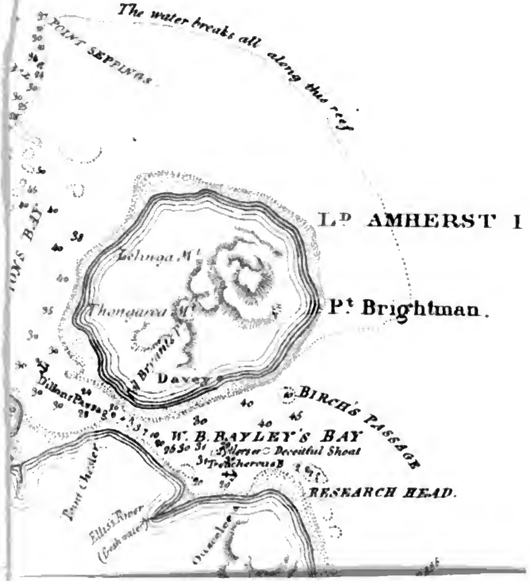
The water breaks all along the reef
POINT SEPPINGS
Lᴰ AMHERST I
Pᵗ Brightman.
Davey
BIRCH'S PASSAGE
W. B. BAYLEY'S BAY
Deceitful Shoal
RESEARCH HEAD.
Dillons Passage
Point Chester
Ellis's River
(fresh water)

liberality to the first canoe that visited me from their island, they demanded an axe for a single cocoa-nut or a fish. These gentlemen entered the ship without shewing the slightest symptoms of fear; quite confident that, as they intended us no harm (which was pretty clear from no arms of any kind being in their canoes), they had none to dread.

On looking over the ship's quarter, I was surprised with the view which the bottom presented, and on sounding four fathoms were found on a round coral bank, although the anchor had been let go in thirty fathoms. The being so near this danger, and not sufficiently shut in by the point, rendered it necessary that I should shift the vessel to a more secure part of the bay, which I did, and got her moored by 8 P.M. with the following bearings: the point of the reef off *Research's* head, E. by N$\frac{3}{4}$N.; Davey Village on Lord Combermere's Island, N.; and the reefs of the latter island, N.E.$\frac{1}{2}$N.

Nero, the chief of whom Rathea spoke so frequently, visited me to-day in companywith another old chief, to whom, as I expected much information from them, I presented two yards of scarlet, two yards of blue gurrah, a large axe each, and a string of beads. I had not much time to converse with them, being engaged extricating the ship from her perilou ssituation near the coral bank under her quarter. But these

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chiefs gave me to understand that myself and crew were the first white people or strangers they had ever seen, except the Tucopians, who visited them occasionally; and that it was very fortunate I came to their country, the harbour being good and the natives peaceable; for had I gone to Denimah, Paiow, or Whannow, my ship would have been wrecked, and my men devoured by sharks, as the crews of two ships had been a long time ago.

My time would not admit of many inquiries; however, I asked Nero if he had seen the people who built the ship at Paiow. He replied "no: he did not often go to that side of the island, as they were bad people who lived there, always at war with his friends, and had killed the white people belonging to the ships which were wrecked on their coast." I shewed him the things procured at Tucopia, that had come from Mannicolo, and wished to know if he had any such. He replied "No; but that he had some iron which he would shew me to morrow."

One of the men standing by said he had a bell, which he would bring me in the morning; and I got the interpreter to inform all those on board that I would give some valuable articles in exchange for any old things they might have in their possession belonging to the wrecks. Shortly afterward two men returned to the ship

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with an iron bolt each, in length $24\frac{7}{10}$ inches, and their diameter, before they were corroded with rust, might have been $1\frac{1}{8}$ inches. I also bought a piece of flat iron, with a square hole in it, cut for the purpose of holding a spike-nail, one piece of plain flat iron, and two *tokees* or adzes of native manufacture. A little before dark a young man came alongside with part of a large iron knee of a ship, being the bend or elbow part, with two bolt-holes in it. The other part, being less thick, had been broken off by the islanders, and converted into tools for building and husbandry utensils.

To preclude the possibility of an imputation similar to that made by Doctor Tytler respecting stamping the sword-guard, I used the following precaution. First, the trading officer purchased the articles in presence of Monsieur Chaigneau, the French agent, and all the other officers and persons on board; and then I obtained a certificate from those gentlemen, specifying the time and place, and from whom the articles therein enumerated were bought; and in this precaution I resolved to persevere during my search among the islands.

The passage leading into Bayley's Bay from the eastward, through which we came this day, I have named J. B. Birch's Passage, after the gentleman who is one of the police magistrates at Calcutta. Supposing I should have to take

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the ship through a narrow passage leading from Lushington's Bay into Bayley's Bay, I gave it the name of Dillon's Passage. The south-west point of Lord Combermere's Island I have called Colonel Bryant's Point, in honour of the judge advocate at Calcutta, who is also a member of the Asiatic Society, and was a strenuous supporter of this expedition; and the point on the main opposite Colonel Bryant's Point I have distinguished by the name of Point Chester, after G. Chester, Esq., president of the Marine Board at Calcutta.

At 8 P.M. I divided the crew into five watches, each under the command of an officer, to whom I gave the strictest charge to be constantly on the alert to prevent surprise from the islanders, as no appearances, however trifling, could justify a departure from the most rigid discipline in this respect. I also reminded them of the narrow escape we had at Tonga, owing to a want of caution in the officer of the watch, and the unfortunate affray that took place there with M. Dumont d'Urville.

14*th*.—Shortly after daylight this morning I sent the trading officer on shore to the head of the bay, where it was said fresh water could be procured, who soon after returned with information that about two cable-lengths from the beach, back in the woods, there was a fine small river of pure spring water, having a

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beaten path leading to it. I have named this Ellis's River, after E. S. Ellis, Esq., marine paymaster at Calcutta. I employed the officer the remainder of the day in filling our empty casks, the largest of which being left on the beach, the water was carried to them in twelve-gallon breakers; in which operation the native young men and boys assisted, and were rewarded with fish-hooks, brass buttons, and glass beads.

The officer in charge of the party reported that on his first landing this morning he was honoured with a visit from two ladies, no less personages than the queen of the district and her daughter. The queen was old and grey-headed; but the princess was about eighteen years of age, with a coarse skin, as black as ink, but of agreeable appearance, and elegantly formed. They advanced to the party without betraying any signs of fear, escorted by his majesty, king Nero. Their dress consisted of a belt round the waist similar to that worn by males, and a mat depending from it, reaching half-way down the thigh. They were ornamented with shells, after the fashion of the men; but, unlike them, their hair was cut short, and they had no head-dress or flowers.

The officer took a walk to the royal mansion, with a view to obtain some assistants to his watering party. When the king perceived him

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advancing, he went to meet him with a few attendants, and on understanding the nature of of his business, aid was immediately granted. The village consisted of about four large houses, containing forty inhabitants, of all ages and both sexes. The females and children did not appear in the least alarmed, but with a familiar cordiality advanced to meet the officer, and kindly took him by the hand. There were neither enclosures nor plantations, no hogs or poultry to be seen, and the only cultivated spot near the anchorage was a bed of *tara* close to the watering-place; nor was this spot cultivated with that care remarkable among the South-Sea islanders generally, being overrun with weeds. There were very few trees of the bread-fruit or cocoa-nut species in the neighbourhood: perhaps six or seven of the former, and about a dozen of the latter.

I expected the canoes to come off soon after daylight; but only one arrived before breakfast, occasioned as I supposed by my visitors of yesterday living at a distance. About 9 o'clock a canoe came alongside, having a large carpenter's maul in it and a silver gravy-spoon of French manufacture, with four stamps upon the shank: the upper part of the handle seemed to have had from two to three inches broken off, and the spoon itself was somewhat battered. I could clearly discover the stamp next to the head to

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be a P, with part of a flower underneath: the next stamp to this was a crown, with a flower underneath; the third I made out to be a crown with a figure attached, to me unintelligible; and the fourth I could not decypher. Monsieur Chaigneau discovered among the cyphers a *fleur de lis*, and was clearly of opinion from its shape and fashion that the spoon was of French manufacture.

Shortly after my second officer purchased out of a canoe part of the brass circle of a globe, with about one-third broken off. It was much worn by time, but the degrees and quarter-degrees remained undefaced. I also obtained a Muleteer's bell, similar to those I had purchased at Tucopia, together with the following articles, *viz.*

2 pieces of a ship's large iron knees, with the thin parts broken off, the remainder being the elbow or thick part.—2 double-headed shot, much oxydized.—1 large iron hook, such as is used on board of frigates for runners.—2 pieces of the end or thin part of ship's iron knees.—1 iron bolt, measuring 3 feet $3\frac{8}{10}$ inches.—1 ditto, measuring 2 feet.—1 ditto with a hole in it, such as is used for boat's cranes, or the goose-necks of swinging-booms to work in.—1 iron spike-nail, pointed by the islanders so as somewhat to resemble a small chisel, measuring $9\frac{7}{10}$ inches;—and 2 iron adzes of native manufacture.

The natives also offered for sale an iron bolt, broken into three pieces apparently quite recently. How they effected this I cannot divine; but it was certainly a trading manœuvre, worthy

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of the cunning characteristic of their less honest neighbours, it being evidently intended to procure an iron tool for each piece.

Rathea, the interpreter, went ashore with the first boat this morning, and soon after returned. He pretended to be ill, and expressed a particular wish that the ship would return to Tucopia, declaring that otherwise all on board would die of the distemper peculiar to this island. He persisted so long in his frightful stories of poisoned arrows and sickness, that several on board were terrified. I at length told him plainly, that if he wished to return to Tucopia, I would send a boat and two men to take him there in the morning; at which he laughed, telling Busshart that he feared I was angry with him, and would go on shore; to which Martin replied that I was only joking; and here the business ended, he promising to share our fate, whatever it might be.

The chief, Nero, brought us off some pudding made with arrow-root and cocoa-nut, and some of another sort made of cocoa-nut and *tara*. These dishes are prepared in the following manner. A circular hole of about one foot deep and two in diameter is made in the earth, which is filled with dry fuel, closely piled up to about two feet from the surface. Several small hard stones not likely to break by the heat are then placed on the wood, and fire is set to the

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pile, and as the fuel consumes, the heated stones fall into the hole among the ashes. The stones thus heated serve as a lining to the oven, which is built round in the form of a heart, and this is again lined with boughs or green leaves. Into the oven thus prepared some *tara* is put, and covered up with three or four coats of green boughs, which are again overlaid with earth and beat down hard, to prevent any heat or smoke from escaping. While the *tara* is baking several persons are employed grinding or scraping the inside of old cocoa-nuts, which they put into a large trough and mix up with a proportionate quantity of fresh water: they are then pressed with the hand and afterwards strained, so as not to allow any part of the cocoa-nut to remain but the oily juice. Into this juice the hot *tara* from the oven is put, which melts it into a delicate oil, and then the pudding is considered fit for use. It is necessary to observe, that before the *tara* is put into the oven it is scraped fine with shells and tied up in banana leaves. The arrow-root is scraped and strained through a piece of fine cloth into water, where it sinks, and the water is then drained out of the trough. The powdered arrow-root thus prepared is made up into small balls, put into bags, and hung up in the houses, to be used as occasion may require. Fish, pork, yams, bread-fruit, and fowls are baked in these ovens.

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Nero appeared very desirous to know when we intended to set out for Denimah, as he wished to go with us. I replied, the moment the boats were repaired, and shewed him the carpenters working at one of them. Two of the boats were in very bad condition, and particularly the one which had been stove at Tonga from having fallen from her slings, as before stated. The want of a proper number of boats to convey a sufficient force, alone prevented me from now setting out on a tour round the island.

15*th*.—Strong trades throughout the day: all hands employed preparing the boats for to-morrow to sail round the island. Got off two turns of water by the long-boat, which completed our stock.

In the forenoon we were visited by seven or eight canoes, which brought for exchange a number of articles of iron and copper: they also brought several baskets of cooked fish and *tara*, but whether for sale or their own use I cannot say. To each of the chiefs I presented an axe, who in return gave me two baked fish and three *taras*. As we had not seen these people before, we concluded they came from some distant part of the island, probably from near the north-west point. After remaining an hour or two they departed toward the north-west, with all the provisions they brought with

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them except the small sample they spared me. Indeed they seem to have no scarcity of fish.

In every house and canoe that we saw, iron was to be found of some shape or other: the ships wrecked here must therefore have had a large quantity of that metal on board, for notwithstanding what was lost, what was employed in building the brig, and what was exported to other islands, there still remained on Mannicolo as much as would supply the inhabitants for thirty years, if they possessed the art and means of forging it.

At noon Rathea obtained my permission to go on shore for the purpose of procuring some small spars for boat-yards, and promised to return immediately. Soon after his departure a chief came alongside with a hog, and inquired for Saccho (the name by which Rathea is known at Mannicolo): I replied he had gone on shore, upon which the chief pointed to his hog, and called out "*bouya*," which is the Mannicolan term for pig. Curious to see what description of hog they had upon the island, I requested to have a full grown animal of that description, one of which was accordingly handed up. I took it in one hand by the tail, and holding it up, found it to be of the original South-Sea Island breed, black, with red eyes and long snout, in size not exceeding a tom-cat.

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At sunset my interpreter had not returned, and I began to think he had deserted from the ship. Without indulging in any undue suspicion, I think Rathea's conduct warranted this surmise, as he exerted all the art he was master of to deter or dissuade me from going round the island. I had good cause to suppose he had told me many untruths, especially that of the mountain coming down at Paiow and covering the spot whereon the brig was built; and therefore finding me fixed in my determination to visit that part of the island, when I should discover his fabrications, it would be only of a piece with the rest of his duplicity, and a step of necessity with him, to desert me, in order to avoid my displeasure. I was not, however, long in suspense, and I was agreeably surprised by Rathea coming alongside, excusing himself for stopping away by saying that a lady, for whom he had formerly entertained a tender regard, arrived from the other side of the island to see him, and he could not possibly resist the impulse he felt to enjoy her company during the evening at a friend's house.

This evening the boat for which I had been so long detained was got out of the carpenter's hands. I ordered the three boats to be manned, in order to ascertain how they sailed. In the experiment the mast of one was carried away, and the mast 'thwart of another, while the third

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leaked so fast as to keep two men busily employed baling her out. To repair the leaky boat would require some time, but the damage sustained by the other two might soon be restored; so that, with the boat just put out of the carpenter's hands, I could only sail with three boats, the launch having neither masts nor sails to go upon such an expedition.

Considering that in the three boats which alone were in a condition to accompany us, I could not take a sufficient force to effect a landing at Paiow, should I happen to meet with opposition from the natives, where the great objects of my inquiry lay, I determined to get the long-boat fitted out as soon as possible, and equip it with a twelve-pound carronnade, which would force a landing when and where I pleased. I certainly considered it my duty to land at Paiow, where the brig had been built, as it could not be supposed that the one or two hundred Europeans who built her, and had resided on the spot for several months, would have departed without leaving some memorial of their mishap, and ultimate departure from the scene of their wreck and subsequent misfortunes. There appeared a great probability of meeting with some such memorial among the trees, rocks, stones, or on some leaden or copper plates, descriptive of who and what they were, whence they came, whither bound at their de-

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parture, how the accident happened, the nature of it, and many other particulars, which their peculiar circumstances rendered it probable they would record, during so long and lonesome a seclusion from the civilized world, when their only pleasure could have been derived from erecting such memorials of the disaster which separated them from society, and consigned them to a savage land. All these considerations determined me on performing this act of indispensable duty.

Being doubtful of Rathea's honour, and fearing that ere long he might desert, I determined to make the best use of my time while he yet remained; and understanding that a very large piece of iron was lying at Denimah where the interpreter had friends, which iron (according to his own account) belonged to him, I made him a proposal to send three armed boats in the morning to that town, with presents to the chiefs, and articles to trade with the people for all the things they might possess belonging to the wrecks. He appeared to relish the proposal, and informed me that the town of Denimah was near the south or south-west part of the island, so that it would take the boats from daylight till noon to reach it.

The following is an inventory of articles procured to-day:

2 pieces of copper joined by a link, apparently the handle

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of a boiler.—2 pieces of iron manufactured, and strongly resembling the hinges of a ship's port.—1 large eye-bolt with the shank broke short off, such as are used for gun-carriages to hook the tackles to.—1 iron bolt 2 feet $10\frac{4}{10}$ inches long. —1 do. 2 feet 4 inches long.—20 pieces of do. of various sizes, battered into different shapes by the islanders.

16*th*.—The weather throughout the first and middle parts of the day was rather unsteady, with light rain at intervals. Being at anchor to leeward of the high land, we could not be exactly acquainted with the state of the elements out at sea; but the surf ran high on the beaches and coral patches in our neighbourhood, which was no doubt occasioned by stormy weather outside.

At 10 A.M. I despatched three armed boats to Denimah, in order to purchase the large piece of iron alluded to yesterday, and all other articles that might have been procured from the shipwrecks. M. Chaigneau, Martin Bushart, and Rathea accompanied them. I enquired of the Tucopian before sailing how many chiefs there were at the above place; and being informed that there were four, I sent by one of the boats a present for each of them, to ensure the party a good reception. This present consisted of one yard of red cloth, one of blue gurrah, one palampore, one axe, one knife, one pair of scissors, and one string of red beads.

This morning two young men brought on board the two largest iron bolts we had yet seen: the one measured in length 3 feet $8\frac{9}{10}$

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inches, the other 3 feet $6\frac{7}{10}$ inches. There was also a third, which measured $2\frac{1}{10}$ inches. These constituted the only purchases in this way for to-day, the unfavourable appearance of the weather tending, no doubt, to keep back the canoes.

The cause of my remaining on board to-day, was to accelerate by my presence the equipment of the long boat; for although it was Sunday, I kept the carpenter at work, it being a case of absolute necessity, in order to get away from this place with the least possible delay, the climate being so very unwholesome.

Seeing that the Tucopian placed little reliance in my dreams, I hit upon a more effectual mode of securing him in my interest, which gratified his avarice, while my visions only excited his superstitions. I caused to be arranged in the most tempting order upon the cabin-floor five large knives, five clasp-knives, five cases of razors, five pairs of scissors, five strings of blue beads, five strings of red beads, one palampore, five chisels, five plane-irons, five English axes, and one musket. I then called him in and asked his opinion of these things, and whether the man who possessed them in Tucopia would not be considered rich. He replied (while his eyes sparkled at the sight before him) that they were an inestimable treasure, and at Tucopia would ensure respect for their possessor during life. I then had the articles put

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into a basket, made Martin Bushart place it on my head, and with many imposing formalities commenced a mock incantation, in which I frequently introduced the word Tucopia, while the old interpreter, squatted in a corner, fixed his eyes Argus-like upon me, to learn what would be the issue of this important ceremony. He asked Martin Bushart what I meant, and whether I was devoting all these things to the gods, in order to obtain a favourable wind to conduct the ship safely back. In reply, I gave him to understand that I was *tabooing* (consecrating) them for him, as it was my intention to make him the greatest man that ever yet lived at Tucopia. He could scarcely restrain his transports at this information (so universally is the passion of ambition implanted in the human heart, from the most illiterate savage to the most learned sage in civilized life, or the mightiest monarch on earth). He danced, capered, touched my feet and legs, and expressed his joy in the most extravagant manner, begging of me to teach him the use of the musket, and also entreating me, on my return to Tucopia, to reinstate him in some possessions, wrested from his forefathers by the ancestors of the ruling king of that island.

It may be necessary to explain my reason for going through the idle form just described. It is the custom in these islands, when *tabooing* or

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consecrating any thing, to perform certain outward ceremonies indicative of the art performed; and as my bare promise of bestowing these things upon Rathea would not be deemed by him a sufficient guarantee of my sincerity, the form of a religious ceremony, suited to his superstitious notions of an exclusive appropriation, inspired him with the desired confidence, as he now regarded those things as irrevocably his; while I, on my part, under pretence of preserving them safe for him till his arrival at his native island, became actually possessed of a sufficient security for his fidelity until I ceased to require his services. If he formed any design of deserting, as he could not obtain these treasures from me without going through the ceremony of asking for them, I should thus become acquainted with his design, and withhold them till his arrival at Tucopia. The importance of such a loss would effectually prevent him from thinking of an escape. Having thus secured his fidelity, I employed him with the fullest confidence on the objects of my mission.

At 8 P.M. it rained very hard. The watch upon the forecastle said that he heard the report of a musket, and shortly afterwards of another, near the entrance of the bay; upon which we shewed a blue light, and hoisted a signal lantern at the fore-topmast head. The boats soon

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after came alongside, and the officer made the following written report.

"At 10 A.M. we left the ship, and at noon rounded the east point of Mannicolo; the wind being favourable, made sail along the coast, which ran S.W. by W.½W., to the eastward of the East Cape two miles. There was an extensive reef with two dry sand-banks near its centre: it ran along the line of shore outside of us. There was a reef attached to the shore as far as we proceeded, extending a quarter of a mile off.

"At 1 P.M. the boats anchored off the village of Denimah, which is situated at the foot of a high hill rising abruptly from the sea side. It consists of about fifteen houses, and nearly the whole inhabitants, of both sexes and of every age, were waiting on the beach to receive us, to the number of about sixty or seventy individuals. They called in a friendly way to Rathea inviting him to land, who went on shore accompanied by Martin Busshart. They were kindly received and even affectionately embraced by the islanders, who conducted them to the spirit house (*i.e.* the temple or town-hall), one of which is in every town and village, where the chiefs and men of consequence assemble to transact public business. Here they found all the principal men assembled ready to give them an audience. About a quarter of an hour elapsed

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when I beheld Rathea, Martin, and some of the islanders approaching the boats with a large piece of iron, on which I pulled in and landed, giving directions to the crew, if they saw me molested, to come to my assistance; but on no account to use their fire-arms, as I would prefer submitting to a little personal rough treatment, rather than, by a rash act, injure or defeat the object I came to accomplish.

" I recognized the piece of iron to be the tiller of a large ship, and purchased it for one wood-axe, a butcher's knife, an adze, and a chissel, with which the natives were perfectly satisfied, and they then invited me to land. This invitation I accepted, and stepped out of the boat followed by his highness Prince Bryan Boroo, who was one of my boat's crew, and by M. Chaigneau, the French agent.

" As the islanders were unarmed, I deemed it prudent to leave my arms behind me as a mark of mutual good intention, and we were each escorted by two islanders who led us up to the spirit-house or town-hall. As we proceeded along these friendly people took us by the hand, patting us on the back occasionally, and with pleased countenances pronounced the word *lilly*, *lilly*, which means 'good, good.' When we arrived at the spirit-house we found the floor spread with mats for us to sit down on, and beheld the following articles exhibited for sale:

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4 ship's iron knees with the flat parts broken off.—2 iron rudder-braces for the stern-post of a large ship, with the thin parts broken off.—The crown of a small anchor, with five inches and a half of the shank and nine inches of the arm attached to it.—The upper part of the shank of a small anchor with the ring attached.—A side of a large vice, such as is used by blacksmiths.—18 inches of the upper part of a crow with claws complete.—1 iron bolt headed, 24 inches long.—1 piece of an iron grating, 19 inches.—1 eye-bolt.—2 pieces of the thin or end part of an iron knee, with a bolt-hole in each.—14 pieces of bolt-iron of different lengths: the longest 3 feet $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches, the shortest $10\frac{3}{4}$ inches.—3 pieces of iron much battered by the islanders.—The half of an iron ring.—1 piece of iron, mounted to a shark-hook by the islanders.—1 brass sheave for a topmast in good condition, $12\frac{1}{10}$ inches in diameter.—1 ditto $12\frac{3}{10}$ inches in diameter, conditioned as above.—1 solid sheave, conditioned as above, $7\frac{6}{10}$ inches diameter.—1 small brass mortar, of $3\frac{9}{10}$ inches calibre, in good condition.—1 copper saucepan with the handle broken off.—1 stew-pan, ditto ditto.—1 square copper vessel which formerly had a handle at every side.—2 pieces of broken china-ware that seemingly belonged to a large china jar.—1 silver vessel weighing from 16 to 20 oz., of an elliptical shape, somewhat resembling a sauce-boat, with the *fleur de lis* stamped upon it in two different places, besides other ornamental flowers.

"All which things I procured in exchange for ironmongery, cutlery, and other European articles of barter.

"I then inquired for the four chiefs for whom I was charged with presents from you; and three stepped forward, telling me that the fourth had lately died of an arrow-wound. The names of these three were, Owallie, a man of about

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fifty-five; Bassie, fifty-five; and Mawonie, about fifty years of age; who received the presents with marks of the most perfect thankfulness.

"Owallie made the following statement: 'A long time ago the people of this island, upon coming out one morning, saw part of a ship on the reef opposite to Paiow, where it held together till the middle of the day, when it was broken by the sea, fell to pieces, and large parts of it floated on shore along the coast. The ship got on the reef in the night, when it blew a tremendous hurricane, which broke down a considerable number of our fruit-trees. We had not seen the ship the day before. Four men were saved from her, and were on the beach at this place, who we were about to kill, supposing them spirits, when they made a present to our chief of something, and he saved their lives. They lived with us a short time, and then joined their people at Paiow, who built a small ship there and went away in it. None of those four men were chiefs: they were only subordinate men. Those things which we sell you now have been procured from the ship wrecked on that reef, on which, at low water, our people were in the habit of diving and bringing up what they could find. Several pieces of the wreck floated on shore, from which we procured some things; but nothing has been got from it for some time back, as it has become rotten and been drifted

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away by the sea. We killed none of the ship's people at this place, but several dead bodies were cast on shore, with the legs and other members mutilated by the sharks. The same night another ship struck on a reef near Whannow and went down. There were several men saved from her, who built a little ship, and went away five moons after the big one was lost. While building it, they had a great fence of trees round them to keep out the islanders; who being equally afraid of them, they consequently kept up but little intercourse. The white men used often to look at the sun through something, but we have none of those things. Two white men remained behind after the rest went away; the one was a chief, and the other a common man, who used to attend on the white chief, who died about three years ago. The chief with whom the white man resided was obliged, about two years and a half ago, to fly from his country, and was accompanied by the white man. The name of the district which they abandoned was Pawcorrie; but we do not know what has become of this tribe. The only white people or foreigners the inhabitants of this island have ever seen were, first, the people of the wrecked ships, and secondly, those before me now.'

"By the natives' account, Whannow is at no great distance from Paiow, where the people of Denimah say there are some heavy pieces of

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iron. The Tucopian interpreter, with his native impudence, flatly contradicts this old man's assertion, saying that he has been there, and no such thing exists at Paiow.

"While sitting in the temple, a man entered with a bow and bundle of arrows in his hands, who seeing us take notice of his arms, desired the interpreter to inform us that we had nothing to dread; that he had heard of our arrival, and came from the hills to visit us; and that it is customary always to travel armed in Mannicolo. I then embraced him, and presented him with a few fish-hooks.

"As night was approaching, and our friends had disposed of all their valuables, we began to think of returning; but before re-embarking, presented the women and children with some beads, and then embracing each other, parted. I promised that *Peter* would call upon them shortly, and directed them to pick up in the mean time every article in their neighbourhood that belonged to the wreck.

"Few cocoa-nut trees were to be seen on this part of the island, and the only domestic animals I could perceive were a few full-grown diminutive native pigs, of a blackish colour."

This account from the officer in charge pleased me extremely; but I had serious cause to be dissatisfied with the boats' crews, who

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took advantage of the officer's absence to plunder the rum, with which one of them became so drunk as to be unable to do his duty, and lose his oar, which in our present situation (not having a spare one on board) was a serious inconvenience. The others had not injured themselves so much as this fellow, but their condition was sufficiently unbecoming to merit the most severe reprehension; for when the boats came alongside, suspecting from the men's behaviour that all was not right, I visited them, and beheld their cutlasses thrown in confusion all over the bottoms of the boats, and the front of one of the stern-lockers torn out.

The fourth chief, for whom I sent the present, was named Pawme, and had lost his life in an affair of honour as our countrymen would term it. Having alienated the affections of a wife from her husband, who was a subordinate of his own tribe, the injured man called out this Lothario to give him satisfaction. The chief was not slow in accepting the challenge, and both parties repaired to the field, armed with their bows and arrows, to settle their dispute; when having been mutually wounded, in the course of five days they both died, leaving the sable cause of their difference a forlorn widow.

17*th.*—Thick cloudy weather, with rain, so as to retard our proceedings in the equipment of our boats.

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We had two native canoes off to-day. One brought a little fish and a few cocoa-nuts for Rathea; the other came off from our neighbours at the watering-place with two strangers, who brought two lots of old bolts to exchange for adzes. It appeared to me that they had come from a great distance, to dispose of their bolts for more serviceable kinds of tools. When strangers arrived, they were always accompanied to the ship by one of the inhabitants of the village off which we lay, who instructed them how to trade, and what to demand in exchange for the things they brought.

18*th*.—Pleasant weather throughout the day. The ship was visited by several canoes, principally laden with cocoa-nuts, for eight or nine of which nothing less than a two-inch chisel or a good plane-iron would be accepted. Some bananas were also purchased at the same high rate for one of this description of iron tools, for which at Tonga I could obtain a large hog, or from two to three hundred cocoa-nuts.

Finding I could not get the long-boat equipped as soon as I expected, and not wishing to lose a moment longer, I fitted out three whale-boats, and put them under the command of the draughtsman, to proceed round the island, with the underwritten letter of instructions for his guidance. They were furnished with three days' allowance of provisions, presents for the three

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chiefs at Denimah, and also presents for twelve other chiefs, should he happen to meet with so many in his excursion. Besides these presents, I sent a chest of ironmongery, cutlery, and cloths, to barter for such things as the islanders might still have to sell which had formerly belonged to the wrecks.

I would have proceeded myself with this expedition, but that I apprehended the approach of bad weather, the change of the moon and equinox taking place within a few days of each other; and the ship being at anchor in an open roadstead, would be exposed to great danger, in case we were visited by a gale from the N.E.

Letter of Instruction to the Officer in charge of the Boats.

18th of September, 1827.

Sir:—The boats under your charge being now ready to proceed on an expedition round this island, it is my wish that you set out to-morrow morning between the hours of four and five o'clock, and proceed as follows:

After leaving the ship, you will proceed with as little delay as possible to the village of Denimah, near the south-east point of Mannicolo, and give the three chiefs of that place the presents entrusted to you by me for that purpose.

If you can prevail on Owallie to accompany you round the island to the ship, do so, and promise that I will reward him for his trouble. Should Owallie not feel inclined to go with you, try to get one of the other two chiefs to accompany the boats; that is, if either of the latter recollect the fatal accident.

From Denimah you will proceed along the coast to Paiow

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(touching at the villages on your way), where a small ship or brig was built, by the islander's account, some thirty-five or forty years ago. On your arrival at this place, land and examine the spot carefully where the vessel was built, for the remains of any stone or wood fortification the builders might have erected for their defence against the islanders; also, examine the shore carefully for any trench or channel that might have been dug out for the purpose of launching the vessel.

Be very particular in examining the trees, rocks, and stones adjacent to where the vessel was built, for inscriptions that might be cut on them, or for plates of copper or brass that might be nailed up. Should you meet with an epitaph or inscription to lead you to the grave of any of the unfortunate shipwrecked people, allow it to be opened, and the bones removed if any remain.

It cannot for a moment be supposed that such enlightened men as the Count de la Pérouse and his officers would remain on this island several months without leaving some account of their misfortunes, either engraved on the rocks, stones, trees, or buried in the earth, with instructions to guide future navigators where to find it. I fervently hope you will be successful in making such a discovery, for the satisfaction of our Government and honourable employers.

Without the aid of some of the aged islanders in the neighbourhood of Paiow, you may not find the spot where the vessel was built. If you are fortunate in finding the place, I am clearly of opinion you will find sufficient engraved on the rocks, stones, or trees, to put the question at rest which has interested the friends of humanity for the last forty years.

After doing all that is necessary at Paiow, proceed to Whannow, and from there to the ship, touching at the intervening villages, to purchase all articles that may be in the hands of the islanders from the shipwreck, so as to enable me to trace out to whom and where they originally belonged.

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You will make it one of your first points of duty to allow no person or persons accompanying you to purchase the smallest article from the islanders, and be particular that the islanders are paid for such things as they feel inclined to dispose of, with the property sent by me for that purpose, and no other.

Should M. Chaigneau, the French agent, who accompanies you, feel inclined to make the islanders presents, on landing or going from the shore, of such articles as he possesses, you will not interrupt him in so doing.

On your return to the ship, I will require a written certificate from you to the above effect, to which you are to place your signature, stating that you are willing to make oath to its accuracy whenever called upon so to do by the Government you are now so honourably serving; which Government has fitted out this expedition from the purest motives of philanthropy.

I wish you to inquire of the chief Owallie, how or in what way the four men came on shore from the ship wrecked off Paiow to Denimah. Be particular in not putting any leading questions to the islanders, Martin Bushart, or Rathea, but note down what they say. From your questions, if judiciously put, and their answers, we may draw a conclusion.

At no time place confidence in the Tucopian, who answers in a way that he thinks will please us. With respect to Martin, he understands our language indifferently; you will, therefore, make him understand your questions clearly before he puts them to the islanders through Rathea.

A judicious distribution of the articles sent as presents for twelve chiefs, exclusive of those at Denimah, will secure for us the respect and esteem of the islanders.

Make all inquiries in your power at Paiow and Whannow regarding the particulars of the ships wrecked in that neighbourhood, also if the heads alluded to are as yet in the spirit-house. Make friends with the priests at the different villages you visit, and try to prevail on them by flattery to sell you

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some or all of the articles from the wrecks, offered by them to the deity.

With respect to being on your guard against the islanders, sleeping out of the boats, more than a certain number of persons landing, keeping close company, observations on soundings, remarks on the coast, bays, harbour, reefs, &c. you will proceed as formerly directed.

I shall conclude by wishing you a safe and successful cruize, and beg to say that it is necessary you should be on board the ship on the evening of Friday the 21st of this month.

I am, &c.

(Signed) P. Dillon.

19*th*.—At daylight the boats set out on the expedition planned yesterday. In the course of the day we were visited by the canoes belonging to the two villages in our neighbourhood, with several cocoa-nuts and a few bananas, a part of which they disposed of at a very dear rate. For a chisel and a small bit of red cloth I procured from them one half of what I supposed to be a Chinese curry-dish, ornamented with figures of flowers, fishes, and a bird. It might have belonged to a set of china procured by la Pérouse at Manilla, while the ships under his command were at anchor there, prior to his departure from thence for the coast of Tartary and Gulf of Sachilene. I also procured the elbow of an iron knee with the remains of two bolt-holes in it, making the eighth we received from the islanders since our arrival. The use of iron knees was solely con-

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fined to king's ships at the time of the wreck of la Pérouse.

20th.—Fine trade weather. All the male inhabitants in our neighbourhood came off to-day with cocoa-nuts, bananas, and a few fish of the mullet species, also some of another sort, curiously variegated with blue, yellow, black, and grey lines down the sides. There were several sharks about the ship of a monstrous size, spotted black and white; we hooked one of them, and notwithstanding he struggled for nearly half an hour, suspended half out of the water, during which time he received several pistol shots in his back and belly, and was attacked and grievously wounded in the fin and belly by a fish of his own species, and nearly as large, he at last succeeded in getting away.

I procured from the islanders this forenoon a cold chisel, fitted with a handle somewhat like a hand-hammer, and some iron bolts.

At 6 P.M. the boats under Mr. Russell's command hove in sight, and shortly after reached the ship, after having circumnavigated the island, and procured from the natives the following articles, *viz.*

A quantity of bolt iron unwrought of various dimensions, one piece measuring 9 feet $2\frac{7}{10}$ inches, another 6 feet $9\frac{5}{10}$ inches, another 5 feet $5\frac{2}{10}$ inches, with nineteen other bolts of various lengths and diameters. The following were of wrought iron: *viz.* 1 piece of iron bolt with a cross at the end, 5 feet 6 inches long.—1 remains of a very large eye-bolt

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much corroded by time and exposure to the action of the elements.—1 piece resembling a lever.—1 ditto with a fore-lock hole.—1 ditto resembling an old rasp.—1 ditto like the horse of a long-boat.—3 large spikes or bolts converted into fish-hooks by the islanders.—1 small spike converted to a similar use.—3 spike-nails.—1 piece of a ramrod with the head complete, measuring $6\frac{4}{10}$ inches.—5 small pieces of different shapes and sizes.—3 pieces of eye-bolts with the eye remaining —1 ditto of a stauncheon with the ears complete. —1 large chain-bolt with head complete.—1 piece of a bolt with a hole in its end in which was a piece of forelock. – 3 heads of double-headed shot.—1 wedge.—6 pieces of the thin or end part of ship's knees.—2 elbows (making ten now on board) ditto ditto broke off at the bolt-holes.—1 piece of a breast-hook broke off at the bolt-holes.—2 carpenter's mawls of foreign manufacture.—1 small caulking-iron.—3 large-sized hooks for ships' tackle-blocks.—1 small ditto ditto. —1 side of a blacksmith's vice, probably the counterpart of that already procured.—1 piece of iron, to all appearance the swivel of a small gun.—1 piece ditto of rather a singular shape: probably it was used to hang a bell upon.—1 middle-size brace for a small vessel's stern post.—1 large ditto ditto ship's stern-post curiously cased with a composition of brass, lead, &c.

The last article was no doubt intended to preserve the iron from the salt water, and was probably the kind of braces used in former times, before the present description of braces came into general use, which are made of brass, &c. It is now between thirty and forty years since the present improvement was first invented, and not more than twenty since they have been generally adopted. The ships that went in search of la Pérouse, three years after

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his disappearance, were not coppered. Notwithstanding the above-described brace was large enough for a ship of eight hundred or a thousand tons burden, the holes in it were not sufficiently large to admit a bolt of dimensions strong enough to secure the brace of a vessel of a hundred tons burden to the stern-post.

1 piece of thick iron, 4 or 5 inches long.—1 small glass bottle, of ten sides, without a neck.—The bottom of a glass wine-bottle.

The following are the copper, brass, and leaden articles received by the boats:—

1 small brass bell, diameter $8\frac{1}{1}$ inches, without a tongue, having three fleurs-de-lis cast upon it.—1 large brass ship's bell, $12\frac{5}{10}$ inches in diameter, with a piece broken out of the head, and without a tongue.

Upon the front of this bell were cast the holy cross erect, between the Virgin Mother and the image of a holy man bearing a small cross upon his shoulders. On the back were three images, circumscribed in an ellipsis, with the sun shining over them, who seem to be the Virgin Mother, the Saviour, and St. John. On all these casts there are letters, which for want of a proper magnifier I could not make out. To the right of the large cross are the following words:—*Bazin m'a fait;* "Bazin made me."

1 small brass gun, of two inches calibre, so foul with verdigris as to render it impossible to make out what casts, stamps, or engravings may be on it.—1 circular piece of

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brass, with teeth or cogs on the inside, not unlike a piece of the instruments now in use under the appellation of "Patent Sounding Machines" for ships.—1 piece of brass, bent into the shape of a hook, with a small hole at one end of it.—1 pewter or leaden vessel, with four circular lines encompassing it, shaped somewhat like a canister of an 18lb. grape-shot.—1 piece of a ship's deep-sea lead.—1 copper fish-kettle, with cover and handle complete, stamped on one side with two fleurs-de-lis.—1 head of a copper ladle, without the handle —1 copper saucepan, without cover or handles, with two fleurs-de-lis stamped on it.—1 copper purser's scale.—1 piece of a copper funnel; and 1 purser's wooden scale, for weighing provisions, turned by the hands of a turner.

The following is the officer's account of the expedition.

"About seven o'clock yesterday morning, we entered the channel between Mannicolo and the barrier reef which surrounds the island. Perceiving something lying on one of the dry sand-banks on the reef, we pulled out, and found it to be drift wood, thrown up there by the sea. There was also a solitary young cocoa-nut tree in a flourishing condition growing there, which will no doubt come to perfection if not molested by the natives.

"At 9 A.M. arrived at the village of Denimah, where we were kindly received, and conducted to the spirit-house, where I delivered to two of the chiefs the presents you entrusted to my care for them, the third chief being then on a visit to Whannow. I inquired particularly from Owallie how the four men saved from the

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wrecked ship at Paiow got on shore at Denimah. He replied that they were on a large piece of the wreck, which floated to the front of the village, where they landed; that the natives received them kindly, took them into their houses, where they were entertained for one night, and allowed to depart peaceably next morning by land for Paiow, at which place they arrived in safety and joined the rest of their people, who got on shore there from the ship wrecked in that neighbourhood.

"Having understood from one of the natives of Davey who was on board, that two of the unfortunate survivors of the wreck had been murdered at Denimah on landing, I put the question to Owallie whether they had killed the two men or not; which he answered positively in the negative, saying that no person was killed there.

"This conversation ended, we began to trade. I procured here the following articles: two ship's iron knees, four pieces of the end parts of the same, an eye-bolt, the side of a smith's vice, a piece of a deep-sea lead, a copper saucepan with two fleurs-de-lis on it, a leaden or pewter vessel, a small brace for a ship's stern-post, a brass hook, and a piece of iron bolt.

"It being near eleven o'clock, I requested Owallie to accompany me to Paiow, and point out the spot whereon the ship was built, pro-

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mising in two days to bring him home again safe, with large presents for his trouble; but he declined going, saying that he had enemies at Whannow. Upon this, his son volunteered his services, which I accepted, and he was accompanied by another young man, each armed with a bow and about twenty poisoned arrows pointed with human bone. I gave each of these intrepid young men a present, and having also bestowed some beads and fish-hooks upon the women and children, quitted Denimah.

"We proceeded along the coast to the south-west, our soundings in the channel formed between the barrier reef and main land being from thirty to forty fathoms, which part of the channel was much more thickly crowded with patches of coral, small reefs, and shoals, than when we first entered it. At noon we rounded the south point of the island, and found the coast tend to the westward.

"Two miles to the westward of this point I discovered a very fine large bay running into the island in a N.N.E. direction four miles, clear of all patches and other dangers, with soundings over a mud bottom varying from twenty to thirty fathoms. We proceeded up the bay, where I found two rivulets of excellent fresh water disemboguing themselves into the bay at its most northern extremity. The barrier reef is distant from this part of the coast about three miles.

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" I saw no houses nor any inhabitants since leaving Denimah until I reached the south point, where a solitary individual came out of the jungle, but observing us, retreated back again with precipitation, and I saw no more of him. I inquired of the interpreter and natives of Denimah if this part of the coast was inhabited, and was informed that it was not, but that people came there occasionally from other parts to plant *tara*, and then returned home.

" I stood along the coast from the bay W. and W. by N. for one hour, when Paiow appeared in sight; and as I neared the village some houses could be discerned, but not one inhabitant. At 2 P.M. I anchored close to the beach, and sent Rathea on shore in company with the two Denimah men to seek for the inhabitants of the houses, from one of which smoke issued; but Rathea, instead of parleying with the natives who had fled to the woods, fell to pillaging the houses of the iron-work and provisions which they contained, and carried his booty to the boat. I was much displeased with his conduct, and ordered him to return every thing to the place whence he had taken it, and gave the Denimah men some presents of cloths and ironmongery, directing them to find out the villagers and give them to them, and endeavour to induce them to come down and speak to us. They proceeded as directed,

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and shortly after returned accompanied by two women and four children. On seeing them approach I landed and advanced to meet them, but they were much alarmed at seeing me. To allay their fears, therefore, I presented each of the women with a string of glass beads, a pair of scissors, and some fish-hooks, and also distributed some fish-hooks among the children, when they seemed quite satisfied of our friendly intentions toward them.

"The Denimah people informed me that the houses which I saw were but the temporary residences of a tribe called the 'Amas,' who come here at certain seasons with their families to plant *tara*, and return to their proper places of abode when the planting season is over. They also said that the only inhabitants of the place were those in my presence, and a man, the husband of the two women and father of the children, who was so terrified that he could not be prevailed upon to come from his lurking-place. The women were so well pleased with their presents, that they despatched one of the children for their timid father, who was at length prevailed upon to break cover. After a little conversation I found that his name was Pakelley, and that he had resided here for about a year with his family, the female part of whom were hideously ugly.

"The district of Paiow is a low level land

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extending along the sea-coast two miles in an east and west direction. The plain extends inland two or three miles, and is thickly covered with wood, except a small clear spot. Some of the trees are enormously large. Through this plain there runs a small river, into which the tide flows. We pulled up it in the boats for about half a mile, but were prevented from proceeding any farther by a large old tree which had fallen across and prevented the boats from passing.

"The clear spot of ground just alluded to, the area of which may be about one square acre, is fronted on the south by the sea, on the east by the river, on the N. and W. by woods. It is the best adapted place on the island either to build or launch a vessel at, there being no rocks in the vicinity of the shore, and the banks of the rivulet abounding with timber. Here the two Denimah men, Rathea, and Pakelley, said that the brig was built and launched, and I do not doubt the truth of their account, it being the only clear spot on the whole coast, and evidently made so by human hands; and as the islanders could not have anyobject in clearing it, I naturally conclude it must have been cleared by the wrecked persons who resided here and built their ship.

"I examined all the place carefully for the remains of a stone or wooden fortification, but

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could not trace any thing of the kind. If the fence was built of wood, it has had time enough in thirty-nine years' exposure to the weather to be rotted away and totally annihilated; and there is neither a stone nor rock in the neighbourhood with which to build one more durable.

"My search for inscriptions was equally fruitless, as the trees about the clear ground are not sufficiently large to admit of one, and, as I have just stated, there are no rocks about there. I examined very minutely every spot around, but could not discover the least trace of Europeans ever having been there. I also examined the trees on the banks of the river, but found neither inscription, nor plate of brass, copper, or lead on any of them. I saw up the river, however, the stumps of trees that had been cut down with axes many years ago, and of which I have no doubt the vessel was built which the natives speak of.

"In the course of conversation with Rathea, the two Denimah men, and Pakelley, I learnt that the wood with which the vessel was built was cut up the river, and rafted down the stream to the clear spot where the vessel was built, a piece of information that led me to proceed up to that part where I found the remains of the cut trees as before described.

"Pakelley appears to be about fifty years of age. When I first began to question him con-

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cerning the ships lost in that neighbourhood, he denied all knowledge of the circumstance; but being urged to speak the truth by Rathea and the Denimah men, he pointed to the reef lying west of Paiow, and said that a ship was broke to pieces there a long time ago. He himself did not remember the wreck, but he had heard others talk of it. There were several people got ashore in safety, who afterwards built another ship on the place where he now resided. I inquired if he had any of the things saved from the wreck. He replied yes; and produced the following articles: A circular piece of brass with cogs or teeth inside, which must formerly have belonged to some machine; two spike-nails; an eye-bolt; a piece of bolt iron; and the bottom of a wine bottle, which he said he himself picked up on the reef where the ship was wrecked.

"My business being ended here, I set sail at half past 4 P.M. and stood along the coast for an hour (which ran W. by N.½N.), when, as the night approached, I neared the shore in quest of a convenient anchorage for the boats, which I found in a small fresh-water creek, where I entered, and let go the anchor. I had not long been there when a canoe came round from the westward, advancing towards us seemingly with a view to reconnoitre. She was manned by two warriors, one of whom paddled, while the other stood on the platform of his vessel with a bow

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and arrows ready for action. Our Tucopian interpreter perceiving his hostile position, called out that we were friends, and that he might put away his arms, approach, and fear nothing, which he immediately did. I presented him and his companion with some fish-hoks. As we heard some noise in the woods, the warrior in the canoe called out with a loud voice, on which a canoe with six women came round the west point of the creek and approached us, to each of whom I gave some glass beads and fish-hooks. These people informed me that they belonged to a village farther along the coast to the westward, called Amma, and came here for the purpose of planting *tara*.

" It was my wish to proceed farther up the creek to lay for the night, but I was prevented by the solicitations of the islanders and interpreter, who represented that spirits came down the creek every night from the mountains, and therefore it would be dangerous. The Denimah men and interpreter were in no wise inclined to sleep in the boats, and desired permission to sleep on shore, which I granted; and they accordingly joined the people from Amma, with whom they remained all night.

On this morning (20th), shortly after daylight, they returned on board, and we sailed along the coast, which ran W. by N.½N., and at half past seven rounded the west point of the isle, when we steered north-east along shore till

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we came abreast of Amma, where we landed at 8 A.M. I was immediately conducted to the spirit-house (or town-hall), where I was introduced to six chiefs, to each of whom I made a present of some cloth, an axe, and a large knife. I then inquired if any person knew of or recollected the circumstance of a ship having been wrecked off Paiow? They replied, no; but that they all had heard of it, and still retained several articles in their possession that formerly belonged to that ship, which had been picked up at low water on the reef; that several men landed from her and built a vessel at Paiow, in which they sailed from the island, having left two of their people behind them, who mostly resided in the neighbourhood of Paiow with a tribe belonging to that place. That one of them died at Paiow, and the other escaped from the island with the chief under whose protection he lived, but they did not know to which of the islands they escaped. The cause of the chief and white man flying from this island was the former getting worsted in the wars. I inquired if the man who died was buried. They replied, no: that a stone was made fast to his feet, and he was cast into the sea, according to the custom of the country.

"They then offered the following articles for sale, which I purchased, *viz.* a small brass ship's bell, about eight inches in diameter, with three

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fleurs-de-lis cast on it; a small brass gun with a fleur-de-lis on it; a large brace for a ship's stern-post, coated with a composition of lead and brass; five iron bolts of considerable lengths; a chain-bolt with head complete; an iron hook for a ship's block, with a piece of bolt; one piece of iron with a hole near its end; one small phial; one half of a double-headed shot, with several small pieces of iron of various descriptions.

"My business being ended here, at 11 A.M. I sailed along the coast to the north-east, and at noon cast anchor off Whannow. The inhabitants received us, as usual, upon the beach, where I was introduced by the interpreter to five chiefs, to all of whom I made presents of a similar description with those presented to the chiefs at Amma. I was then conducted to the spirit-house, where I opened my business, saying that I came to purchase all the old things they had procured out of the ships wrecked off their coast, and inquired if there was any person among them who recollected the circumstance: they replied, "no, they are all dead; but that the old people had informed them such a circumstance took place, and that they now had in their possession a variety of things procured out of that ship, which were picked up on the reef about half way between Whannow and Paiow. That they understood it blew a dreadful gale of wind on the night the ship was lost,

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which broke down their fruit-trees, houses, &c. That a second ship had been lost near Amma, from which four men were saved, who went to Paiow, and joined the people who were building a ship there. They affirmed that no person belonging to the ships were killed at Denimah or Whannow, and that plenty of people were saved from the ship wrecked in their neighbourhood, who built a small ship and sailed away, having left two of their men behind in the neighbourhood of Paiow. Those men were known to the islanders by the name of Marrah, and were not married. One of them lived with the Paiow tribe, and the other with the Pawcorie: the former died some time ago at Paiow, where his remains were disposed of as above related; and they account for the disappearance of the other man in the same way as the inhabitants of Denimah and Amma, as to his escape from this to some other island in the neighbourhood. They said that nothing now remains on the reef belonging to the wreck. I told them that I understood they had offered in their spirit-house several heads of the people killed here belonging to the wrecks, but this they denied; and although I examined all the sacred temples very minutely, I could find no traces of any such offering.

" The people of this place were very guarded in their answers, and unwillingly replied to the

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questions put to them regarding the murder of the Europeans, and offering of the human skills to the deity in their temples; but from what I have heard from the Tucopian and natives who visited the ship on our first arrival, I have no doubt as to the guilt of the people at Denimah and Whannow of murdering some of the people who escaped from the wreck.

"I bought the following articles at Whannow: a large bell with a piece broke out of the head, without a tongue, with a cross and three images cast on it; also with the words, "*Bazin m'a fait*," cast on the right of the cross; an oval copper fish-kettle, cover, and handles complete, with two fleurs-de-lis stamped on it; four iron hooks for tackle-blocks; two spike-nails; two mawls; ten iron bolts of various sizes; a piece of iron breast-hook; a large iron bar with a cross on the end; a piece of iron with a fore-lock hole; a piece of iron ramrod for a musket, with several other pieces of iron of various descriptions; and a wooden and copper scale-bottom, the former turned by the hands of a turner.

"I was all ready to sail from Whannow for the ship at 2 P.M., when a canoe was starting for Denimah. The two young men from thence now signified to me their wish to return home by this opportunity, to which I assented, and presented to each an axe, a piece of scarlet, a

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knife, and a few fish-hooks, with which they seemed very well content and departed, I proceeding for the ship. We passed only one place having inhabitants after quitting Whannow, till we reached the ship at 6 P.M."

Not considering the officer's account of the two men left on the island by those who built the brig sufficiently satisfactory, I inquired of M. Chaigneau and Bushart what passed on the subject between them and the natives of Amma and Whannow, who stated as follows :

"We understood the natives of Whannow and Amma to say, that one of the two white men named Marrah at Paiow with the Pawcorie tribe, died about three *rackeys* (or annual returns of the north-west winds) ago ; the other escaped with the chief of Pawcorie and his tribe to some of the adjacent islands, about two and a-half *rackeys* ago. We never understood them to say that the chief of Pawcorie and the white man named Marrah, were the only persons of that tribe who escaped from the island, but that the whole took flight."

21*st*.—Fine pleasant trades. At low water I went with three boats to sound Dillon's Passage, which is bounded on the east by Bayley's Bay, on the west by Charles Lushington's Bay, on the north by Colonel Bryant's Point, and on the south by Point Chester. About the middle of

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this channel, which is not more than six hundred feet broad, there is a ledge of coral patches, with from four to nine feet of water on them at low water. Within a cable's length or less of the east and west ends of the ledge there is twenty-five fathoms water, and on both sides of it there is a passage with sufficient water for a ship of moderate draught. The passage on the south of the ledge is about sixty feet, and that on the north side of it about ninety feet wide. The least water I had in the latter was from three to three fathoms and a-half at low water on the spring tides, and the least water in the former passage was four fathoms; but this is exceedingly narrow, and may not be sixty feet wide in some places. That part of the north passage which has from three to three fathoms and a-half water in it, is over an extent of bank perhaps a hundred and twenty feet east and west, and immediately deepens to five, ten, fifteen, and twenty fathoms, both east and west of it. By buoying the channel north of the ledge on both sides, a ship might pass through it in a case of necessity.

The boats returned at noon, and at 1 P.M. I sent them to examine Birch's Passage, through which we came in here. The boats steered from the point of the reef under which we lay at anchor different courses. They first steered out E.N.E., and made considerable lee-way; not-

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withstanding which she cleared the reef extending out to sea from the east point of Lord Combermere's Island, and only met with one bank in her passage, on which there was ten fathoms water. The second steered out east, and met with two banks on which she had only two fathoms water, although it was now more than half flood. The third steered out E.S.E., which was along the edge of the reef that lines the south shore of the main land upon that side of the channel, and met with several banks and patches, on which she had from two to two and a half fathoms.

It was low water here at fifty minutes past 10 A.M. to day, and was high water to all appearance at ten minutes before 5 P.M. The tide rises four or five feet, the ebb setting to the westward, and the flood to the eastward through the bay. I conjecture that the set of the tide along shore outside is the ebb to the north-west, and the flood to the south-east. There is a coral bank that lies off the point of the reef under which we first anchored, bearing from it north-west, distant a quarter of a mile. This bank had three fathoms water on it to-day, and did not break: on the neaps, at half-tide a tremendous breaker rolls over it. There is plenty of room for a ship to pass between it and the point of the reef.

We were visited to-day by the greater part of the male islanders belonging to the two villages

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in our neighbourhood: they brought their usual supplies of cocoa-nuts, bananas, fish, *tara*, &c., which they disposed of at their wonted dear rate. Being informed that we were about to sail shortly for Tucopia, they seemed to regret our departure, and desired the interpreter to inform us of their wish to be made acquainted of our intention a few days before sailing, that they might provide us with food for sea-stock.

This afternoon we caught one of the large sharks that frequent this bay. I intended the monster as a present to his sable majesty king Nero, of Davey, to be taken to him in procession when the boats should return, but not communicating my intention to the officer on deck, it was thrown over board when the decks were ordered to be cleared.

22d.—The crew employed getting all ready for sea. At 8 A.M. sent three boats to sound Commodore Hayes' Channel, deeming such a precaution necessary, lest I should be unable to work out of the eastern channel, on account of the number of banks dispersed through it. By getting through Dillon's Channel, which was sounded yesterday, I would have a clear passage out to sea west of Lord Combermere's Island, through Charles Lushington's Bay. At 2½ P.M. the boats returned with a very favourable account of the Commodore's Channel, through which there is sufficient room for any ship to get out to sea with a fair wind.

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The natives in our neighbourhood came off to-day as usual. The principal articles they offered for sale were cocoa-nuts, for which their chief demand was empty wine-bottles, at the rate of one for ten nuts. I also procured from them some fish of the mullet species, very fine, and larger than any I have met with at New-South Wales or elsewhere in the South-Seas.

23d.—The day commenced with gloomy weather and fresh trades right into the anchorage, so as to prevent getting the ship under sail. Soon after daylight four or five canoes, navigated by four men each, came off with a few of the productions of the island, to exchange for empty glass bottles. His excellency Morgan McMurragh shewed them a looking-glass, at which they stared with surprise, and called out to their friends in the canoes to come up and behold the enchantment. Morgan with the other New Zealanders laughed with contempt at the ignorance of the Mannicolans, and plumed themselves not a little on their superior knowledge: thus proving an admirable burlesque on the inflated half-witted pedants of our own society, who (like the lawyer that laughed at the sailor for not understanding the terms plaintiff and defendant) are frequently equally ignorant of every thing out of the immediate range of their own practice.

King Nero was among the number of our visitants to-day, and as I expressed a desire for

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some cocoa-nut leaves to make yam-baskets with, he offered to procure me a supply if I would trust him with a boat, which I did. He set out accompanied by two of his attendants and his excellency Morgan McMurragh, and although they could not understand each other's language, with the instinct of savages, they managed by signs to communicate their skill in handling their respective war instruments; the Mannicolans describing with what unerring aim they could at a great distance implant a poisoned arrow in their enemy's eye, while the New Zealander mimicked the style in which he could cut off an enemy's head. At noon the boat returned, with the materials required.

Finding I could not satisfactorily learn the particulars of the shipwreck and murder of part of the surviving crews at Denimah and Whannow through the medium of Martin Bushart and Rathea, I was yet anxious to let no chance escape of obtaining an explanation of the matter that would satisfy the whole world. There being still several men on the island who had a personal knowledge of the fatal catastrophe, and who would in a few years drop off, carrying with them the only oral testimony or record of the event remaining, a mode of remedying the defect suggested itself to me. This was to leave a young man upon the island among the people of Whannow, to acquire their language, and by that means possess himself of

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all the particulars relative to the wreck which from time to time he might glean in conversation with these old people. This appearing to me the most feasible means of ascertaining the particulars of the unfortunate la Pérouse's sufferings and fate, I mentioned the plan to Stewart, the young man who joined me at Tucopia, pointing out the advantages which might one day accrue, not only to mankind generally, but to himself, from his residing at Mannicolo for a few years, and making himself acquainted with the religion, manners, and customs of the natives. He assented to my proposal, saying it was immaterial to him where he lived for three or four years, if the information he could procure in that time would interest the public, and be the means of bringing himself forward. I did not fail to remind him that the climate was unhealthy, and that he should not further endanger his life by joining the islanders in their wars. He begged I would not make myself uneasy on his account, as he was confident he should not die before his appointed time, and his stay at Mannicolo therefore could not shorten the term of his existence. Stewart is a shrewd young man, about twenty-five years of age, with a good understanding, improved by a tolerable plain education.

The weather ended as it began, being dark and gloomy, with weak flashes of lightning to

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the south-eastward. The sun crossed the equator to-day, which may account for the unsettled appearance of the elements.

24th.—Gloomy weather, with light easterly airs and showers of rain at intervals. Soon after daylight I sent the interpreter on shore to obtain king Nero's permission for cutting a quantity of fire-wood. This he granted, directing Rathea to inform me that I might cut wood where I pleased; that he considered the country belonged to me, and himself as subordinate to my orders. I thereupon despatched a party of Indians, under the command of the Marquis of Wyemattee and Morgan M'Murragh, with nine axes.

The islanders paid us their customary visit, having some vegetables, boats' spars, and arrows for sale. These were the first weapons I had seen in their possession, and they would not now, I am persuaded, have been brought off to the ship, had not some of the persons on board desired to purchase a few, as presents for their friends at home.

Having heard much of these poisoned arrows, I wished to ascertain whether their slightest puncture, as stated, proved fatal. With this view, I prevailed on one of the islanders to go on shore for some of the deleterious gum, and he returned in a short time with three large baskets filled with nuts of the size and shape of

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a large ripe mango. One of the officers having just purchased some arrows, I directed the islander to let me see him poison one of them. He broke the shell first, and then scraped the kernel with his thumb-nail till he got off a little of the juicy substance, which he removed with his fore-finger and thumb and rubbed on the head of the arrow; he then took some lime from his betel-box, which he put upon his naked thigh, dipped his finger in it, and rubbed that part of the arrow repeatedly which had been wetted by the nut-juice, until a light paste was formed on it: the part thus poisoned was about eight inches long. There were at this time about a dozen natives on deck, who all, as well as Rathea, asserted positively that the least prick of this weapon, so as to draw blood, would produce certain death in five days at the farthest. Martin Bushart said, that during his residence at Tucopia several of the Mannicolo arrows were brought there, with one of which a disappointed lover shot the object of his attachment, of which wound she died four or five days after, having suffered the most excruciating agonies. He also mentioned several instances of private quarrels being revenged by this deadly weapon with the same fatal result, before friends could interfere.

With a view to be further convinced, I orpered a pig to be taken from the stye, and an

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incision with a sharp knife being made in its thigh, I thrust the arrow just prepared into the wound so as to bring a few drops of blood. The point broke and remained: the pig was then set at large again.

The nut, as already described, is as large as the largest ripe mango in Bengal; the shell is rather soft, and in substance not unlike the skin of the mangosteen; when unripe it is green, but in a state of perfection it is of a reddish colour; the kernel is like that of a walnut, but six or eight times larger; the outside shell is covered with a sort of hoar crust, resembling the crust that adheres to the inside of old port bottles. I took about two hundred of these nuts with me for the Botanical Garden at Calcutta.

25th.—Light trades, with fine weather. In consequence of the smoothness of the water and the fine weather, the greater part of the male islanders in our vicinity came alongside. Two females also, in crossing Bayley's Bay from Ellis' River to the village of Davey, came to the ship for some beads, held out to their view by the Tonga girl on board. Toward evening, on their return from Davey, they paid us a second visit, uninvited: an instance of the perfect confidence with which we had inspired these unsophisticated children of nature. Nature, however, had not formed these females in her loveliest mould. One of them was far

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advanced in years, proportionately ugly, and a picture of deformity the mind of an European cannot well conceive. The other was a girl of about eighteen, who upon any island in the South Seas, except Mannicolo, might live a spinster till she reached the age of Methusalah. They were clothed with a petticoat from the loins to the knee, and heightened their personal attractions by abundantly chewing betel-nut and chunam.

The Marquis of Wyemattee and his party completed the wooding to-day, in the course of which an accident occurred that gave me much regret. The marquis's physician, lately christened Robert Tytler, wounded his foot severely with an axe while felling a tree, and sustained a great loss of blood before he could be conveyed on board, when his wound was immediately dressed by Mr. Griffiths, the surgeon. This man has been for a considerable time the faithful follower of the marquis's fortunes in his various campaigns against the Boroo tribe, and through all the different changes which the events of war produce. Although young, he is considered a very expert dissector of the slain, on whom his noble master occasionally feasts, and it is also generally admitted among his countrymen that Tytler is the most skilful man in the island in *curing* a human head.

It may be recollected that on various occa-

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sions, and particularly at Tonga, I had serious cause of complaint against the second officer. This morning between the hours of two and three I went on deck, where, instead of the bustle attending a vigilant watch of ten or fifteen men, every thing had a death-like stillness. I found but one man on the look-out. It was the second officers' watch, and I searched both sides of the quarter-deck and ascended the poop in quest of him, but to no purpose. I inquired for him of the only person I could see, who was on the poop looking out; he told me that he was on the quarter-deck. I replied, that I had searched there and could not find him. By this time another of the watch was awakened by our conversation, who rubbing his eyes, rose up, and informed me that the second officer was at the gangway. I hastened thither and found him sound asleep, his head reclined upon the hammock cloths. I gave him a push which startled him, and the sight of me effectually chasing away sleep, he hastily arose, and in his confusion, while ejaculating the words "O Captain Dillon!" tumbled over one of the guns. These repeated relapses were no longer to be borne with, I therefore ordered the baggage out of his cabin to be put forward in the ship, and from that moment disrated him, appointing Mr. James Hapley to act in his stead, a youth brought up under myself to the nautical profession.

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26th.—Fine trades, with a very heavy long swell rolling into the bay, which caused the ship to pitch considerably.

The neighbouring islanders paid us their accustomed visit this morning with such commodities as they usually bring off. Having six or eight of them sitting close to me, I intimated to them my intention of visiting the islands of Otooboa, Indenney, Mammey, and Thamaco, in their neighbourhood, saying I would take any of them with me who might feel inclined for a trip. Most of my visitors declared they had been to those places; and one in particular, about fifty years old, said that he had visited them four times, and Tucopia twice, at the time that the chief Borey Thamaco was in the habit of coming to Mannicolo. I inquired of the interpreter whether this man (whose name was Seroo) spoke truth: who said that he did. I then asked Seroo how big he was at the time the ships were lost: he pointed to a lad about fourteen and said he was about his size. The following conversation then ensued.

"Was Borey Thamaco, chief of Tucopia, at this island then?"—"No; Thamaco was at Tucopia, but arrived here soon after."

"Do you know the hump-backed Tucopian who lived here some time?"—"Yes; Tha Fow was my brother-in-law."

"Was Tha Fow here when the ships were

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wrecked?"—" Yes; he lived close to the watering place.".

" Were any of the people wrecked at Paiow murdered by the natives at Denimah?"—" No; but the white men from Paiow came round in a boat to the reef off Denimah, and killed the chief of that place, named Nowrey. They put an instrument to their mouths and blew fire into it, and noise was heard. Nowrey was wounded in the kidney, and fell into the water out of his canoe, where he died. Nowrey was out fishing at the time, and his body has never been found. Such was the story of his death, as related by those who were with him fishing."

Seroo was supported in this account by the other natives of Davey, who vouched for its truth, and corrected him whenever he erred. He and the other islanders recounted that there was great fighting at Whannow between the white men and the inhabitants of that village, in which all the chiefs were killed, they being five in number, named, Valeco, Oley, Amea, Feto, and Tabinga; that almost all the common people were killed, and ten of the white men, whose heads were offered as a sacrifice to the deity.

I was two hours in putting the above questions and eliciting the answers; not so much through the fault of Bushart as of Rathea, who knew less of the Mannicolan dialect than the former did of the Tucopian. Rathea used to put his

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questions to the Mannicolans in his own dialect, of which they knew very little; till at length I informed him through Bushart that I perceived he knew little or nothing of their language. This he confessed; adding that those who came here young soon learnt it, but he was old when he first visited Mannicolo.

Having my wood and water complete, I began to prepare for sailing, and finding the wind not likely to shift to the west, south-west, or south, to enable the ship to lay out through Birch's Passage, I determined to sail through Dillon's Passage into Lushington's Bay, and pass out to sea through Commodore Hayes' Channel. At 1 P.M. I set out from the ship to buoy Dillon's Passage with nineteen buoys, to the ropes of which pieces of coral were attached. On letting some of these substitutes for anchors go, they slipped from the perpendicular edge of the reef into deep water, where the buoys floated them. My plan being thus frustrated, I was obliged to return and get others prepared with heavy stones attached.

27th.—Strong trades, with thick cloudy weather and a very heavy swell rolling into the bay. Soon after breakfast five canoes from Denimah came to the ship with fifteen or sixteen men in them, who offered for sale the undermentioned articles: Two pieces of iron knees; a large chain-bolt with the head; two pieces of chain-

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plates; a pewter vessel resembling a porter-pot, with the handle and brim bruised; a copper hoop, with a mark on it bearing a strong resemblance to a *fleur de lis;* and five pieces of iron bolt of various lengths and sizes much oxydized. I conjecture that the copper hoop belonged to a powder barrel.

At 2 P.M., it being low water, I set out with the long-boat to buoy the channel, which I had attempted to do yesterday without success. We succeeded, although the weather was unfavourable to our purpose, the wind blowing strong, and the sun every five minutes being overcast with clouds, which prevented us from discovering during the intervals of dulness the spots we were in quest of. The natives brought off several rattans for sale, quite as good as those procured at Malacca, which may in time become an article of commerce with New South Wales for couch and chair-bottoms, &c., which is now supplied with that article from Calcutta and Canton.

A poor islander came alongside to-day grievously afflicted with a disease in the testicles, such as I have seen a Spaniard labour under at Otaheite. Without exaggeration, this wretched man's parts were swollen to the size of an English half-barrel of gunpowder. The islanders on board made the poor fellow's infirmities a subject of merriment, at which I evinced my

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displeasure so effectually as to check their ill-directed mirth. Feeling for the poor creature's situation, I sent him two or three yards of blue gurrah: which he received with gratitude, and taking a dozen of tortoise-shell rings from his ears, sent them to me as an acknowledgment.

The surgeon and I had paid particular attention to the health of the pig on which I tried the experiment of the poisoned arrow, and could not as yet perceive any alteration in the animal's health; he relished his meals, and eat with a keen appetite. The wound was somewhat festered, and an issue from it had taken place.

28*th*.—Strong trades approaching to a gale, with thick cloudy weather, and a heavy long swell rolling into the bay; the effects of which we experienced in no small degree, notwithstanding we were well shut in with the land. If the ship had been anchored half-way between her present situation and the shore, she would have been clear of all dangers that might arise either from the wind or sea. The weather being so boisterous, I did not attempt to get under weigh to run through Dillon's Passage. I visited it with boats, sounded over its various parts, and let go some more buoys, as guides for going through when the weather would permit.

A canoe from Whannow came off, out of which I procured the bent or elbow part of an iron knee, with a very large iron ship's bolt and a

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small one. The large bolt did not appear to have been long out of water, I was therefore led to suppose that some remains of the wrecks might yet be found on the reefs, if we could hit on the spot where the accident occurred. I accordingly determined to anchor the ship in a more secure part of the bay, and set out myself with four boats to examine the surface of the reefs from Whannow to Denimah.

In good weather the reef which surrounds the east, south, south-west, and west sides of this island, is dry from half ebb to half flood, and on the highest tides has not more than four feet water in most places, while others are always dry. During heavy gales from the above points, a dreadful sea breaks over these coral buttresses, and may run twenty feet high over the reef into the bays, harbours and roads that separate it from the main island. The reefs off the north side of the island have in most places from nine to twelve feet water on them at ebb tide, and it seldom breaks, which renders them the more dangerous to shipping.

29th.—At daylight, began to unmoor the ship. At 8 A.M. I took the opinion of the draughtsman, who was now second in command in case of accident, and the chief officer, what passage we ought to pursue in going out: the former was of opinion that we might go out the same way we came in; while the latter, with myself, was

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of opinion that we ought to proceed through Dillon's Passage, buoyed off yesterday.

As we had to go round the island once more in the boats, I thought the ship had better remain in this bay, so as to proceed through Dillon's Passage on the spring tides, when there would be five or six feet more water on the banks in the channel than at present. We therefore warped the ship closer in shore toward the watering place, and moored her in twenty-five fathoms at 4 P.M. I then got four boats ready, to make a tour round the island to-morrow.

We had no canoes off till late this afternoon, when four came, from one of which I procured the upper part of a crow-bar, with the claws complete, a piece of iron bolt, and a preventer-chain-plate.

Though five nights had passed since the experiment made on the pig with the poisoned arrow, the animal appeared still in perfect health.

30*th*.—At 8 o'clock this morning I sailed with four boats containing twenty-nine armed men, for the purpose of making a complete survey of the island and reefs round by the east and south sides, so as to ascertain, if possible, the exact spot on which the two ships had been wrecked.

On sounding Research's Head, it blew a strong gale from the south-east, with the sea running so high as to endanger the safety of any other

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than a whale-boat. At 7 A.M. made signal to the other boats to bear up and stand after me round by the north and west sides of the island. We shortly after passed through Dillon's Channel and round Cape Hayes.

We landed on Cape Harrington, where we found a few people from Whannow, who came there to plant *tara*, sugar-cane, and bananas. I soon discovered that they possessed nothing of consequence from the wrecks; but one of them had a piece of a green glass tube put transversely through the gristle of his nose, which I prevailed upon him to part with. I inquired where he found it: he said "on the reef where the ship was lost near Paiow." It measured $2\frac{8}{10}$ inches, and was shaped exactly like the glass of a thermometer in which the quicksilver is deposited.

We sailed from hence with a brisk gale, and at 11 A.M. reached Whannow, where such inhabitants as were in the village came to the beach to receive Mr. Russell, M. Chaigneau, and myself, and conducted us to the spirit-house, where mats were placed for us to sit upon. Some cocoa-nuts and cooked turtle were then set before us, which the villagers represented as excellent. They informed us that most of the inhabitants were abroad upon different parts of the island at their plantations, and said that they had good success yesterday in fishing, having

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caught a turtle with a new net. They shewed me an oven in which they had baked the turtle, and expatiated on its excellence in a strain that would do credit to the most turtle-loving alderman in London; the flesh (they said) was delicious, and the shell most useful to them in making ear-rings. They then pointed to four large bundles of bananas hanging up, and a quantity of *tara* ready scraped for pudding, and invited us to remain and partake of the feast to be given to the gods by the owner of the turtle net, for the success they had bestowed upon the new net. I declined their hospitable invitation, saying that I had a long way to go before night, and requested them to bring what things they had procured from the ship wrecked at Paiow, for which I would give a good price.

Some men were immediately despatched for the articles, and in the mean time I gave them to understand that Stewart (the young man already mentioned) wished to remain among them. Much pleased at this information, they promised to treat him kindly until my return, demanding where the ship would then anchor? I told them, "off their village:" at which an universal shout was sent up, which I thought would have shattered the roof of their town-hall.

Their transports being somewhat moderated, they commented on my intention, and with a view to confirm me in it, had recourse to

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backbiting their neighbours, the inhabitants of Davey, near whose town we now lay, supposing that by disparaging their character, they would elevate their own in our estimation.

The men by this time again entered the spirit-house with the undermentioned articles, which I bought, *viz.* the elbow of a ship's large iron knee, a broken hand-hammer, a piece of iron bolt, a small turned globular wooden vessel, the bottom of a silver or plated candlestick with a coat of arms engraved on it, which some of us think are those of the Count de la Pérouse.

The fortunate owner of the turtle-net then conducted me to his house, where the entertainment was preparing, and pulled from the fire-side a thick sheet of copper, measuring 3 feet $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches, by 3 feet $4\frac{7}{10}$ inches, in excellent preservation, for which I gave him a large axe. He was earnestly entreated by one of his wives not to sell it to me, but the sight of a large axe was too strong a temptation to be resisted.

In the centre of all the houses I entered there was a fire-place about eight feet square, with a post at each corner supporting a bamboo hurdle, which served as a repository for their cooking utensils, and as a drying-place for their fishing-lines. Here also they place their bags or haver-sacks, with which they are invariably provided when travelling, and which will contain a bushel of grain. On the side of the house opposite to

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the door by which I entered was a string with the heads of several turtles on it; all appearing old and stale except one, which no doubt was the head of that caught yesterday.

Having quitted this house, I proceeded to the beach in order to re-embark, where I was waited for by a number of women and children, among whom I distributed some beads and fish-hooks. Here I observed one woman whom I could by no means entice to approach me; the cause of which I found to be that a cancer had nearly eaten away the poor creature's face, which made her delicate to approach, lest the sight should disgust me.

Half an hour after noon we directed our course S.W. along the coast from Whannow to Amma, being accompanied by a man from the town we had just quitted, who favoured Rathea with his company, and at half-past one reached Amma, but could see no people. It seemed by the Whannow man's account, that all the inhabitants had gone to Paiow on a fishing excursion. Soon after this two people appeared on the beach, who gave the alarm, and about twelve or fifteen others came forth.

Being in want of water, two men from each boat landed with the water-kegs, and went up to the nearest house. On passing it, one of our people called out in Spanish, "Here is a *fleur-de-lis*;" which M. Chaigneau and I, who fol-

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lowed and understood him, desired him to point out. He directed our attention to the door of a house, where we saw at the bottom of the threshold a decayed piece of fir or pine plank, with a fleur-de-lis and other ornamental work upon it. It had probably formed part of a ship's stern, and when complete exhibited the national arms of France. Its length was 4 feet and $\frac{1}{2}$ an inch, breadth $13\frac{6}{10}$ inches. It was placed upon its edge to barricade the passage, for the double purpose of keeping the pigs out and the children in the house.

The inhabitants of the village being absent, I sent to seek for some person who would sell me this relic, and soon found a chief of some consequence, who in the absence of his neighbours was willing to act for them. When he appeared, I pointed to the relic at the door; he to a hatchet in my hand. We mutually understood each other, exchanged properties, and I sent my prize in haste to the boats; the islander no doubt considering me an arrant fool for so easily parting with my treasure.

One of the officers shortly after informed me that he saw a grinding-stone of European manufacture lying by the door of one of the native houses, whither I followed him, and found a small mill-stone, such as is used for grinding grain in the north of Ireland and the highlands of Scotland. On turning it over it broke. Its

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diameter was 2 feet $1\frac{2}{10}$ inches, and in the centre was a circular hole of about eight inches in diameter on the upper, and four inches on the lower surface, the hole being somewhat of the central part of a conic excavation. It had three other holes on its surface, intended for the spindle and handle, one of which had a piece of iron fastened on it by means of lead; the other two were filled with that metal. The account published by the French Government, respecting the expedition fitted out under la Pérouse, states that his dry provisions were shipped in kiln-dried grain, with several pairs of grinding-stones to prepare the same as wanted; which description of stones seem to correspond so exactly with the one above-mentioned as to form a strong link in the chain of circumstances that go to fix the identity of the ships lost at Mannicolo. The village broker agreed to give up this stone to me for one adze, which, together with the following articles purchased from him, I shipped without delay.

1 copper link, with two handles.—2 large mawls or sledges, for the use of a carpenter or blacksmith.—1 hook for a tackle-block.—1 iron staple.—1 piece of a port-hinge.—1 ditto of flat iron, with a screw-thread cut in it.—1 boat's pintle, much corroded by rust.—1 spike-nail.—2 pieces of iron grating.—11 ditto iron bolts of various descriptions and sizes.—2 ditto very thick china-ware, supposed to be part of a tureen-bottom.

While I was thus trafficking, M. Chaigneau

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was busily engaged rummaging the deserted houses, in one of which he found a bag containing something bulky. His curiosity was excited, and anxious to satisfy it, he explored the contents, which to his surprise was nothing less than a preserved human skull: whether native or European could not be decided, though probably it was that of some unfortunate mariner. The tide having ebbed considerably since I anchored here, the boats with Rathea and Bushart were some distance from the beach, which prevented me from putting questions that I wished to the chief respecting M. Chaigneau's discovery.

Just as I was on the point of wading to the boats I espied a man at some distance on the beach sweating under a bulky load, which on his nearer approach I discovered to be a copper boiler capable of containing fifteen or twenty gallons. This, together with the other things I purchased, had been taken I was told from the reefs whereon the ships were wrecked.

The day being far spent, I embarked at 3 P.M. and sailed from Amma, hoping to reach Paiow before night. The village I quitted is situated on the west point or cape of Mannicolo: the land here is moderately high, and abounding with cocoa-nut trees. To this cape I gave the name of Cape Palmer, out of respect to Mr. John Palmer, of the firm of Palmer and Co., Calcutta. About

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half way between Amma and Paiow there is a river of moderate size, in which our boats anchored on the first night after they left the ship to circumnavigate the island. I named this river after M. Chaigneau, the French agent. The high mountain on Mannicola I have named King Charles the Tenth's mountain, in honour of the reigning monarch of France.

As we proceeded toward Paiow the land had a continued and gradual declivity from Charles the Tenth's mountain down to the sea, and was much lower than the land on the east, north-east, and north sides of the island. It was nevertheless equally well wooded, there not being a quarter of an acre of clear ground on the whole coast. I found the channel between the shore and the reefs from one and a half to two miles broad, with numerous small coral banks scattered in every direction, having from twenty-five to thirty-three fathoms water close alongside of their edges. There was however plenty of room and water to work a ship by keeping a good look-out at the mast-head.

At 5 P.M. we passed a cape which forms the west head of Paiow Bay, and which I named Cape Maloney, after Mr. E. S. Maloney, acting principal secretray to the Government at Calcutta during the absence of Mr. Chief Secretary Lushington. The east cape of Paiow Bay I called Cape Paiow, and the small river which

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empties itself into this bay about midway between Capes Maloney and Paiow, I named Russell River, after Mr. Russell, draughtsman to the expedition.

At $5\frac{1}{4}$ P.M. we entered Russell's River, on the bank of which some canoes were lying, and about thirty or forty of the Amma people were assembled, having come hither on a fishing and planting excursion. I landed on the west bank, and made the islanders some presents of beads, cutlery, &c. who in return presented me with some cooked tara, tara pudding, baked turtle, and a broiled fish.

I informed them, through my interpreter, that I intended sleeping in their river that night, when they very considerately offered me a part of the spirit-house for the accommodation of myself and crew: a proffer which, however kindly intended, prudence induced me to decline. This I did with many thanks. I inquired of them in what part of the neighbourhood the wrecked people had built the small ship in which they sailed from hence. Some of the old men pointed to a hollow in the west bank of the river, assuring me that was the place. This hollow might be fifty fathoms on the left hand within the river's mouth, and from the general appearance of the country there exists the greatest probability of the truth of this information. Except this solitary spot, which was clear from

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the sea-side, the whole prospect on the coast presented to view an uninterrupted forest and impervious underwood. The clear space extended about seventy fathoms in a north and south direction along the bank of the river, and perhaps one hundred and twenty fathoms east and west along the head of the bay.

The coast of Mannicolo is encompassed in most places with a coral reef projecting from a quarter to half a mile off, which is dry in most places from half ebb to half flood, so that it would be difficult to launch a vessel in any other part of the south-west and west sides of it but Paiow. I am therefore of opinion, that the piece of ground which the vessel is said by the islanders to have been built upon was cleared by the shipwrecked people, and that the vessel was launched from the hollow place shewn me into Russell's River, which has nine feet water in it on spring tides, and that from thence it was removed into Paiow Bay, which could be effected in a few minutes, either by towing, tracking, or rowing, where at ebb tide, at the river's mouth, this bay has from one to twenty fathoms water in it.

The tea-kettle was boiled, we supped at dusk, and anchored in the middle of the river. Martin Bushart, Rathea, and the Whannow man went on shore to sleep, while we spread our sails over the boat's masts, thus forming a kind of tent. It was however insufficient to defend us from

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the rain, which fell in torrents, and the musquitoes, which assailed us in myriads, effectually driving away sleep, which we stood much in need of after the previous day's toil.

Oct. 1st.—The day set in with a strong gale and rain, which continued without intermission till evening.

At break of day I ordered the boats out of the river into Paiow Bay, at which time I observed two canoes come out, set sail, and steer for the reef in a south-west direction, distant from here one mile and a-half or two miles. Shortly after Martin Bushart, Rathea, and the Whannow man joined the boats, and with a view to explore the reef more completely, I divided the provisions and liquor with Mr. Russell, directing him to proceed with two of the boats out to the reef, and where he found it dry or with little water, to land some of his people, and examine those parts with the utmost minuteness for remnants of the wrecks. There were also some large rocks on the reef, considerably elevated above the surface of the water, which I directed him to search in every nook and cavity, for inscriptions that might have been cut on them. He had also instructions to explore the reef for any passage leading into the open sea, as I wished to ascertain by what opening the small vessel built here had put to sea; and then to continue his survey from the part

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abreast of this place to Whaunow, where it ended, prior to the ship having been anchored in Bayley's Bay.

At 6 A.M. Mr. Russell sailed accompanied by M. Chaigneau, while I proceeded with the other two boats to search the reef from this part of it round to the southward and eastward, till I should come abreast of Denimah. Many minutes had not elapsed after weighing when Bushart, who happened to be in my boat, began to recount his adventures on the preceding night, and among other things stated that it was customary in this island for all unmarried men to sleep in the town-hall of their respective villages, where a good fire and smoke are kept up all night to drive away the musquitos. Some of the natives, he also said, informed Rathea that they had several large pieces of iron lying on the reef abreast of the village, which they intended to bring in this morning to sell me; adding, that the two canoes I had seen sail were despatched for that purpose.

I was much surprised at this information, and displeased with my informant for not having communicated it to me before Mr. Russell and I had separated. I regarded it also as extraordinary, that people who place such a value upon iron would suffer it to lie neglected on the reef, where they incurred the risk of losing it to the first who might pass that way and dis-

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cover it. But to lose no time in idle speculation, I made signal to Mr. Russell to lie to for me, whom having rejoined, I acquainted with the circumstance, directing him to follow the canoes without delay and watch their motions. I then resumed my route along the coast till 8 o'clock, when I perceived two natives on the beach, who notwithstanding the "pelting of the pitiless storm," the rain falling in torrents, stood there beckoning us to approach. My arms and ammunition being quite drenched with rain and spray off the sea, which ran very high, I deemed it prudent to await the coming up of the other boat that was considerably astern, in company with whom I stood in for the shore. I found this place had not before been visited by our boats, in consequence of the houses being at a little distance in the woods, which prevented them from being seen on passing. The village consisted of three houses, seven men, as many women, and perhaps ten or twelve children. In one of their dwellings was a lively fire of dry wood, round which the villagers flocked on account of the chilliness occasioned by the wind and rain.

I purchased from these people the undermentioned articles, *viz.*

1 brass sheave for a frigate's topmast, $12\frac{4}{10}$ inches in diameter.—1 piece of iron bolt bent into a shark-hook; and 1 piece of blue glass tube, which was transversely fixed through the cartilage of a man's nose, 3 inches long, and shaped exactly like that procured yesterday.

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After concluding my bargains, we boiled the tea-kettle upon the villagers' fire, breakfasted, and resumed our voyage. The rain still poured down in floods, and the land was sometimes imperceptible at the distance of a quarter of a mile from the boats, being enveloped in thick clouds. It was during such weather as this, I suppose, that the unfortunate French navigator got on the reefs off this island.

This being the weather side of the island, I had many more dangers and difficulties to encounter than the boats under Mr. Russell, which were under the lee of the land in smooth water; and to add to the danger, my boat proved so leaky as to keep one man continually employed in baling her out, which circumstance, added to the badness of the weather, induced me to defer for the present an examination of this part of the reef, and to make the best of my way for the ship. I steered along the coast where the water was smoothest, and about 10 o'clock came abreast of a beautiful bay running inland three miles; and as the water here was exceedingly smooth, I stood up it about two or three miles, which I found to be clear of all dangers and completely landlocked, with from twenty to thirty fathoms water over a bottom of blue mud.

Rathea pointed out to me two small fresh-water rivers at the head of this bay. The one to the westward I named Frazer's River, after Mr.

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S. Fraser, for some time acting chief secretary to government; and the other Greenlaw's river, after the assistant secretary and judge advocate to the Marine Board at Calcutta. The bay itself I named George Swinton's Bay, after Mr. George Swinton, secretary to government in the political department. To this gentleman I feel a particular pleasure in rendering this grateful acknowledgment, for the active part he took in promoting the objects of this expedition. The west cape of Swinton's Bay I have called Cape Sergeant, after Mr. Henry Sergeant, member of the Marine Board. To the east cape of this delightful bay I have given the appellation of King Charles the Tenth's Cape, in honour of his Most Christian Majesty.

Between sailing and pulling I reached Denimah about 1 or 2 P.M., where the natives eagerly waited on the reefs to receive us, notwithstanding it rained heavily; and I would certainly have landed to refresh my people, but the surf ran so high on the coral reef fronting the shore, as to render it dangerous to make such an attempt.

From hence I passed along to the eastern part of the island. At the distance of about one mile and a-half from Denimah I observed the land indented by a small bay, in which, no doubt, good anchorage could be obtained: to this bay I gave the name of Trotter's Bay, as a

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mark of my respect. Shortly after I rounded the east cape of Mannicolo, which I distinguished by the name of Cape Wilson, after Mr. Horace Hayman Wilson, assay-master at Calcutta, and secretary to the Asiatic Society.

Here our danger was increased, as there were no reefs on the weather side to break the violence of the sea, which rolled mountains high through Birch's Passage, and frequently broke into the boats, and threatened every moment to sink us. It was a short sea, and ran so high as to prevent us from seeing our consort-boat, although not fifty fathoms distant; and notwithstanding we were not more than a mile from the land, it was invisible for intervals of a quarter and half an hour at a time, from the thick weather. Our situation at this critical juncture was truly dangerous, and only to be conceived by those who experienced it. I expected every moment to see the boat filled with the waves, which incessantly broke in upon us, and seemed to mock our exertions to keep the boat afloat. I cheered up my men, and kept the boat's head to the sea until we got Research's Head to bear west, when I kept her before the sea, and managed to steer her tolerably well with a whale-boat steer-oar twenty-four feet long. It is impossible that any other description of boat than a whale-boat could have survived in such a tempestuous sea. Having now got her before the

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wind and sea, my personal safety was endangered by the steer-oar having nearly thrown me out of the boat; and to prevent the consequences of such an accident, I stripped, and caused my men to do the same, thus prepared for a swim as our last resource. Providence, however, interposed, and at 5 P.M. it pleased God to crown our efforts with success, and to conduct both boats safe to the ship, after encountering perils and fatigues unparalleled by any thing I ever before witnessed.

The passage between la Pérouse's reef and Cape Wilson I have called Charles Trower's Passage, after Mr. Charles Trower, police magistrate at Calcutta. It leads into one of the finest reef harbours in the known world, which I have called Kyd's Harbour, after Mr. James Kyd, master-builder to the Hon. East-India Company at Calcutta.

Towards 5 P.M. the rain abated, and the wind became nearly calm. At 6, the two boats sent round from Paiow by the way of Whannow returned to the ship. The officer reported, that on reaching the reef he went up to the canoes, the people in which succeeded in procuring three small brass guns, and one of the sailors found a fourth lying in a hollow covered with two or three feet of water, where the islanders report the ship was wrecked. Mr. Russell paid them for the guns they had found, and detained

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one of their canoes, on account of its light draught of water, to skim the surface of the reef in search of further remains of the wrecks.

The following articles were procured by the natives and boats' crews, and received on board the *Research*, *viz.*

4 brass guns, three of which are 2⅛ inches in calibre, and the fourth 1¾ inches. They have the following figures engraved on their pinions, descriptive, I suppose, of their several numbers and weights. That on the left hand I suppose to be the registered number of the gun: Gun the first, No. 602, 144 lbs.; Do. second, No. 541, 144 lbs.; Do. third, 461, 143; Do. fourth, No. 252, 94 lbs.—1 large shot-weight, about 18 lbs.—1 leaden cistern belonging to a ship's-head, used for certain purposes, and much bruised.—1 piece of lead in pipe, belonging to the quarter gallery.—7 pieces of the stern-head of a ship, with several nail-holes in them.—1 leaden vessel much bruised, somewhat resembling our English porter-pots.—2 copper links with handles attached to each.—1 handle without a link.—1 long ditto.—1 small piece of sheet copper with two nail-holes in it.—2 pieces of old-fashioned shoe-buckles.—1 Spanish dollar, nearly coated with coral.—Part of a surgeon's tourniquet.—Several pieces of broken glass bottles.—1 piece of flint glass, with several pieces of broken china and crockery-ware.—1 earthen brick of European manufacture,—and part of the socket of a brass candlestick.

Paiow bears N.E.¾E. by compass, distance two miles from the place where these articles were found.

Mr. Russell experienced no inconvenience from the blowing weather, being under the lee of the island in smooth water. He was, how-

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ever, much impeded in his examination of the reef by the heavy rain, which disturbing the glassy surface of the water, obscured every thing beneath it.

In consequence of the good success the boats had met with, I determined to cause the barrier reef from Cape Wilson round by the way of south to Whannow to be explored next day; to which I was further induced by Martin Bushart saying he understood from some Tucopians that the other ship was wrecked off Denimah.

2d.—Fine weather, with very little rain. At 6 A.M. despatched Mr. Russell, with the three whale-boats, for the reefs off Denimah, with instructions to land and get some of the islanders to point out the spot of reef whereon the ship was lost, as stated by the Tucopians; and as the tide would be over the reef at noon, which would render further search for the day fruitless, he was then to proceed to Paiow, and anchor there, in order to take advantage of next morning's tide. As a stimulus to the men, I offered one hundred rupees reward for every gun recovered, and a proportionate compensation for any other article likely to throw light upon the subject. I procured more fish from the islanders to-day than at any time since my arrival here, as also a large quantity of cocoa-nuts and tara.

3d.—Fine trade weather. At low water I

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set out, with a boat's crew, to examine the buoys in Dillon's Channel after the late stormy weather: I found several gone adrift, and others water-logged. After passing through the channel, I sounded Lushington's Bay in various parts, and found from twenty-seven to thirty-three fathoms over a good mud bottom.

At 6 P.M. the boats that had been despatched yesterday for Paiow not appearing, we shewed a blue light to guide them when near the ship. At 7 P.M. they returned, with a few articles, most of which were procured on the reef where the brass guns were found.

It will be perceived by the officer's account which follows, how egregiously we were imposed upon by our Tucopian interpreter, who, I suspect, did not understand twenty words of the Mannicolan language.

"At 6 A.M. left the ship, and at half-past 7 passed Cape Wilson. Two of the boats proceeded to examine the reef, under charge of the first officer and Mr. Ross, while I sailed along shore to Denimah, where I landed with Rathea and Bushart, and prevailed on two of the natives to accompany me to the place where the ships were lost. I immediately sailed over for the reef opposite to Denimah, where I joined the other two boats, and found they had discovered a passage in the reef sufficiently large to admit ships of the greatest size. I

then inquired of the natives where the ship was lost out of which they had procured the things they sold us some time ago: they replied, 'Off Paiow; and that no ship had been lost off Denimah.'

"This new account astonished me, and I inquired, if no ship whatever had been lost on that part of the reef, how could the four men come on shore, of whom they gave me an account the last time I visited their village. They replied that they did not know; but that certainly four men did land there. This contradiction I imputed to the ignorance of the interpreters: for it is my opinion that Rathea knows less of the Mannicolan language than Bushart does of the Tucopian, which is scarcely any thing. What they related I have given in their own words, without adding to or taking from them.

"On hearing this statement, I deemed further search on this part of the reef useless, and sailed along its edge as close as possible, with a view to discover other openings. We were under sail for an hour, and brought King Charles the Tenth's Cape to bear north, when one of the Denimah people made a sign to me to approach the reef. As I complied, he made circular motions with his finger, giving me to understand that there was something deposited there. We soon landed on the reef, and

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the Denimah man brought me a circular weighty piece of brass, which I suppose belonged to a ship's chain-pump. He told me he found it on the reef at Paiow some years ago; from whence he took it, and the weather becoming boisterous, he was compelled to throw it overboard when he reached this place, where it had since remained. Making allowance for the truth of this story, I determined to search this part of the reef diligently, in hopes of finding something more; but did not succeed.

"We then sailed for Paiow, where we arrived at 2 P.M. and dined. As it was ebb tide in the evening, we stood out for the reef, and were conducted by the Denimah men to the spot where we picked up the guns yesterday. They said that one ship was lost here, and the other farther to the westward, but from the latter nothing was saved. Here we found two other openings in the reef, about a mile apart, each large enough to admit ships of the greatest size clear of all danger, and could be sailed into and out of easily with the prevailing trade wind. Night now approaching, and the tide not having sufficiently ebbed to admit of further search, we stood in for Paiow, where we anchored.

"In the morning we sailed out at daylight to the reef, and as the tide ebbed made a diligent search, and found the undermentioned articles.

1 joint or upper part of a composition pump with the fi-

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gure "4" engraved on it. It is $14\frac{5}{10}$ inches in diameter with four holes in it for the screw bolts to join it on the other part.—3 feet 3 inches of an iron tiller for a ship, with a round hole in the end for the tackle-blocks.—1 small-gun's leaden apron.—4 pieces of sheet lead with several nail-holes in each. —1 earthen brick of European manufacture.—A circular piece of brass, 6 inches in diameter, exactly cut and shaped like the piece of copper placed round a common glass bull's-eye in a ship's deck.—1 brass guard of a musket trigger.—1 piece of brass tube much bruised.—The shank or socket of a copper candlestick with 2 other pieces of brass copper work. —3 musket-flints,—several pieces of broken glass bottles and some other kinds of glass.—A quantity of broken earthen and china-ware.—2 whitish glass beads of foreign manufacture.

"Finding there was nothing more to be procured, I asked the Denimah people to conduct me to the place where the other ship was lost. They pointed to the westward, and I sailed close along the inside edge of the reef until I came to a fourth opening in it, about two miles distant from the passage discovered yesterday. It was clear of all dangers and almost three-quarters of a mile wide, and so situated that a ship can enter and sail out of it with the prevalent trade winds. I passed out to sea through this passage. The Denimah people told me that the other ship was lost somewhere about that spot; that she struck in the night, and sunk in deep water close to the edge of the reef, and nothing was saved out of her.

"I continued my route, and sailed on to the north-west: and along the outside of the reef

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four or five miles, when a fifth opening presented itself of about one hundred and twenty fathoms wide, clear of all dangers, but of a serpentine form, and such as with the trade wind a ship could not sail out of with safety. We entered this passage, and steered along the inside of the reef to that part which we left off examining before the ship found anchorage in Bayley's Bay, without finding any other opening than those already described.

"The boats arrived off Amma at 2 P.M., where we were kindly received, as formerly, by the natives. They shewed me a small copper boiler and some iron bolts. Here I left the two Denimah men at their own request, having paid them for their trouble. We then sailed along-shore to Whannow, and at 3 P.M. anchored off that village, where I procured a few articles. We did not remain long but made the best of our way to the ship, where we arrived at 7 P.M.

"The undermentioned articles were procured from Amma and Whannow:

1 large iron thimble, such as is used for the slings of ships' lower yards, or stays to reeve lanyards in. — 1 piece of earthen brick, as before.—1 small copper boiler, 10 inches in diameter and 8 inches deep.—1 iron bolt with fore-lock hole in its end.—4 other pieces of iron.—1 hook for a ship's tackle-block.—1 spike-nail."

4th.—At 8½ A.M. I set out with three boats to examine Commodore Hayes' Channel, which

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leads from sea into Lushington's Bay, and at 10 A.M. reached its narrow part, when a squall of wind from the south-east came on, with a torrent of rain, which enveloped both reefs and land in obscurity for some time.

The narrowest part of this channel is at its inside, leading into the bay, where it is from one-quarter to half a mile broad. The weather or eastern reef, which forms that side of the channel, runs out north-east, and breaks off the sea on that side: under its lee is fine smooth water. The lee, or westward reef, runs out to the north-west. From the direction the reefs take there is a large space between them, in which we did not discover any dangers. On the inside of the narrowest part of this channel, between it and Cape Hayes, there are five patches or coral banks, on some of which there is not more than one and a half fathom water; on others from two to two and a-half. These banks can be easily avoided, there being a good passage on both the east and west sides of them. I would recommend those banks to be kept on the left hand, by ships proceeding from Lushington's Bay to sea.

At 1½ P.M. reached the ship, having been thoroughly drenched by the rain. I found that one of the officers had procured some mangoes yesterday at Whannow, which having intimated to my Davey friends, I was quickly presented

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with a large basket-full unripe. Those brought on board yesterday were nearly ripe, of a good flavour, but not so large as the Bengal mango. This is the second Asiatic fruit I have found among the South Sea Islands. In 1825 I met with the mangosteen on Tanna, one of the New Hebrides: thus demonstrating the fallacy of the eastern proverb, that "mangoes are only to be had where there are Hindoos, and mangosteens where there are Malays."

5th.—First and middle parts of the day squally wet weather: at 1 P.M. the rain cleared off, and the wind became settled to the E.S.E., blowing a gentle gale. Finding there was no likelihood of a westerly wind to take the ship out of this bay before the change of the monsoon from the north-west took place, which I did not expect before the middle of December, I determined to run through the channel which bears my name: a most dangerous one, and which ought not to be attempted by any vessel drawing more than six or seven feet water.

The passage by which I entered Bayley's Bay is strewed with dangers; they may, however, be avoided with a fair wind and a good look-out kept from the mast-head. I had now only the alternative of sailing through Dillon's Channel, which is not more than ninety feet wide at the part I intended to pass, or remaining at anchor in my present situation for two months

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and a half before I could get a fair wind to sail out by the way I entered.

At 8 A.M. I began to unmoor, but at 10 the weather was so very cloudy, with rain, that I stopt the capstern. At 1 P.M. I got under sail and stood for the passage, through which I threaded the needle. I had top-sails, top-gallant sails, and jibs set. I sent two boats to lie one on each side of the narrowest part of the channel, and the ship passed between them so close, that she might be touched with the oars of each; and in five minutes we were clear of all danger into Charles Lushington's Bay, where I anchored at 2 P.M. in thirty-three fathoms water, over a bottom of fine soft mud, with the water as smooth as in a mill-pond. Direction Island bore by compass from this anchorage S.W.$\frac{3}{4}$S. one mile.

We had no sooner anchored than eight canoes came off from the island laden with cocoa-nuts, each paddled by three or four persons, and one by two middle-aged females and two girls ten or twelve years old. They came alongside with as little apprehension as if the ship had belonged to their own chief, and was manned by their own relations and countrymen. I hailed this as another proof of their confidence in European visitors, and of the abatement of that dread which formerly led to the destruction of the shipwrecked people: for the Mannicolans are

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not naturally fierce and bloody, but evidently looked upon and acted towards the Frenchmen as preternatural beings or sea-monsters.

The women handed up their nuts to their countrymen on deck, who acted for them, and remained alongside of the ship till sunset, when they paddled off as unceremoniously as they arrived. I inquired where fresh water was to be procured; and they pointed to a village on the main land, bearing about west from Direction Island, where they said plenty of good water was to be had close to the shore. Thither I despatched a boat at 4 P.M. with empty vessels, and another to protect her while filling them. The boats returned in less than an hour, when the officer reported that he pulled into a fresh water stream, sufficiently large and deep to allow of dipping the buckets into it from alongside, and filling the casks in the boat. This was a most convenient watering-place, and far superior to Ellis' River, where we were compelled to roll the casks a quarter of a mile inland from the boats to a fall, as the tide flowed up its mouth, and rendered the water so brackish lower down as to make it quite unfit for use.

Our number on board was eighty-three persons, for all of whom I procured from the islanders as many cocoa-nuts as allowed four to each: double the quantity I had been able to distribute at any one time since my arrival here.

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Before I quitted Bayley's Bay, an aged chief begged me to spare him a sow pig. He said that the pig his tribe already had was a boar, and he wished to get a sow to breed from. I complied with his request, and trust this pair will in time stock the island. I shewed him the pig upon which the experiment of the poisoned arrow had been tried, and which still appeared in good health: he did not seem surprised, but informed me that the islanders frequently wounded pigs with arrows, and they did not die, whereas had a man been wounded in the same manner he certainly could not have survived more than five days.

6th.—First and middle parts of the day fine light trades from E.S.E.; towards sun-set the wind shifted to S.E., and was immediately followed by light rain. At 8½ A.M. I sent two boats with flags and staffs as beacons to be put on the narrow parts of Commodore Hayes' Channel. On board we were employed in getting all ready to sail next morning. We had to-day twenty canoes at the ship, which exceeded the usual number. From them I procured a large supply of fish, and about 500 cocoa-nuts.

Kings Nero and Vaboie, chiefs of Bayley's Bay, came on board to take leave of us. I presented to each a piece of Tongataboo cloth and a large axe, which were thankfully

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received, and they seemed much affected at our approaching departure. I also gave each of them a piece of parchment, on which was written: "The Hon. East-India Company's ship *Research*, under command of Captain Peter Dillon, anchored in Bayley's Bay on the 13th of September 1827, and sailed for the islands to leeward, in search of a French sailor, supposed to be the only survivor of the crew belonging to the ships commanded by the Count de la Pérouse, and from thence to Tucopia, to land the interpreters." I also mentioned that the bearers had behaved well to us during our stay in their port, which we entered from the east and sailed out of by the west. I gave similar documents to two other chiefs belonging to the Leeward Islands: who all promised to go on board any ship that appeared and produce them, which I gave them to understand would ensure a favourable reception. I used this precaution lest any accident might happen to the *Research* after quitting this port.

The weather side of the island is called Mannicolo, and the lee side Whannow, including under these general names all the villages on their respective sides, which have also their particular and distinguishing names. Hence when we hear of Whannow ,as the place where the battles were fought between the islanders and shipwrecked people, we include all the villages

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on the lee side of the island. The small fresh-water river discovered yesterday I named Griffiths' River, out of compliment to the surgeon of the *Research*.

7th.—Fresh trades and rain, with cloudy weather at intervals. At 7 A.M. began to heave up the anchor; but the weather becoming so cloudy as to prevent our seeing the dangers in the way to the passage through the reefs, I waited for a more favourable opportunity.

Conversing with an intelligent native of one of the leeward islands, called Mame, he informed me of several islands in that quarter, named as follows: Otooboa (or the Edgecumbe or Owry Island of Captain Carteret), Indenney (or the Santa Cruz of Mandano, and Egmont Island of Captain Carteret), Tenacora (or the Volcano Island of Captain Carteret), Fonofono, Mame, Pillaney, Nupaney, Ulaffa, and Bowloo. Thamaco, he said, is out of sight of the former islands, which form a group. The islands in the Thamaco group are Thamaco, Chiciana (a low island), and Towleakey. In Quirous's voyage, upwards of two hundred years ago, he mentions having carried islanders by force from Thamaco, some of whom escaped from him off Tucopia, and that one only remained with him, whom he afterwards discovered not to be a native of Thamaco. The lad's name was Pedro, and he had

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been led captive from his own country, which he called Chiciana, to Thamaco, where he was enslaved. Quiros' accounts of islands at that remote period have all been verified by modern navigators; the situation of his Tucopia and Mannicolo or Vannicolo I have already settled, and hope before long to ascertain the true position of his Thamaco and Chiciana. His discoveries to the southward of Tucopia have been all confirmed by Captain Cook, *viz.* the Cyclades, or Terra del Espiritu Santo, and the various other islands forming the north part of the great chain of the New Hebrides.

The native of Mame also informed me, that about the time the ships were wrecked at this island, a Tongataboo canoe that had been long drifted about at sea, with fifty men on board, appeared off Lord Combermere's Island, where they were all killed by the islanders except fifteen, who escaped with the canoe, and the skulls of those killed were preserved at the island to this day; that many years ago a Rathuma canoe was drifted down here with five men on board, three of whom died before my informant came to the island, but the other two were living after his arrival, old men, and without teeth to chew their betel, which in consequence they pounded in a kind of wooden mortar. I asked him if any of the European skulls were to be found now. He replied that he thought

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there were some still, but the people would be afraid to acknowledge it, supposing us to be the same kind of people, who would naturally seek to revenge the death of our countrymen; that a short time ago three ships came close to the island of Indenney, and that the natives shot arrows at their boats. This conduct led to a conflict, in which several islanders were killed. From that circumstance he suspected we would not meet with a favourable reception there. Should the account of the three ships visiting Indenney prove correct, they must have been English whalers, as no other description of vessels frequents those seas; and it is not unusual for three, four, or more of these to go in company to the islands of the Pacific, for the purpose of refreshing.

I offered this man, whose good sense was a proof that natural intellect is not restricted to colour or climate, a large reward if he would accompany me to the Leeward Islands, which he consented to do, provided he found his wife willing to go with him. The name of this islander is Thangaroa: he is of a light copper colour, much resembling a New-Zealander, and his hair somewhat woolly. He said that the islands he had named to me lay to windward of Indenney, and the inhabitants were copper-coloured, speaking a language different from the Mannicolan, Otooboa, and Indenny dia-

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lects, each of which is different. He made a chart on the deck with charcoal, according to his ideas, on which he placed his native island, Mame, and Thamaco, in a N.E. or E.N.E. direction from Indenney.

There being now no longer any room to doubt that the unfortunate French navigator, whose unknown fate remained for so many years enveloped in mystery, perished on Mannicolo, I have resolved to give it the name of "La Pérouse's Island."

7th.—The anchorage in Bayley's Bay is situated in latitude 11° 41′ S., and longitude 167° 5′ E., distant from Tucopia about forty leagues. It is high water in this place at 4. 50′ P.M. on full and change days of the moon.

From the chart which accompanies this account, it will be seen that Mannicolo is surrounded by a barrier reef (distant in most places from one mile and a-half to two miles from the land), except at Birch's Passage, which leads into Bayley's Bay, forming excellent harbours, where, when once into it, good anchorage is to be found. The country is well supplied with water, and thickly studded with wood.

We found on the west and south-west sides of the island four passages through the reef, leading into the extensive harbours it forms. To these I have given the following names: Colonel Cunliff's Passage, after the commissary-general

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at Calcutta; Doctor Muston's Passage, after the apothecary-general; Doctor Adams' Passage, out of respect and gratitude to that gentleman, who is secretary to the medical board; and Doctor Savage's Passage, after that gentleman, a full surgeon on the Bengal establishment, who wrote an account of New Zealand some years ago, and was the person who brought May-hanger to Europe. On the south-east and east sides there are two passages, the one named after Mr. Deane, an officer of the *Research*, and the other Trower's Passage, described in a former part of this journal.

An island at the head of Charles Lushington's Bay I have named Direction Island, it being the leading mark for entering Bayley's Bay. South and by east of Direction Island there is a small river, which I have named Betham's River, after Sir William Betham. A ship proceeding into Bayley's Bay from sea, ought to bring Direction Island to bear west per compass, and steer for it till the reef off Research's Head is brought to bear south: then haul up S.S.W. and steer in for the anchorage, keeping a good look-out for Deceitful Shoal, as also for Treacherous or Tytler's Shoal, upon the latter of which the *Research* narrowly escaped getting aground while at anchor in thirty fathoms water, and not more than thirty fathoms from it.

The land of Mannicolo is of considerable

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height, and may be seen sixty miles off in clear weather. The most distinguished trees upon it are the cocoa-nut and bread-fruit trees; a tree producing a nut resembling the almond, but a better fruit; and a wild bread-fruit tree, producing a very inferior kind of bread, with a kernel in it, and such as is not known at the Society or Friendly Islands. The mangrove tree lines the shores in great abundance, and a kind of pine, of which we procured some spars for boats' masts, &c.

The tara constitutes their staff of life: they have also sweet potatoes and bananas of good quality. Yams are not cultivated, and those offered to us for sale were a small wild kind, not weighing more than from one to two pounds each. To promote the growth of a better sort, I left among them some Tongataboo yam-seed, which in that island vary in weight from seven to fifty pounds each. They have some domesticated pigs about their houses, which they would not part with, and there were also some running wild in the woods. From the feathers used by the natives as ornaments, they must have the common barn-door fowl, though I never saw any about their houses. Fish of various species abound here, and also turtle; the former are killed with arrows, and the latter are caught in nets.

Their houses are neat and comfortable, and

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built after the following manner:—Three rows of posts are driven about three feet into the earth, those on each side being about five feet clear from the ground, and the middle row fifteen feet. Each row supports a beam placed horizontally, secured by cocoa-nut-husk lines, and from the sides other beams of a lighter substance are placed diagonally, meeting in an angle at, and supported by the middle beam, forming a roof of a steep declivity, which is covered over by mats of cocoa-nut leaves with projecting eaves. The walls are made by filling up the interstices between the posts with similar mats, except at two, three, or only one entrance, to serve the purpose of a door and chimney, as may suit the inclination of the builder. A few spare mats are generally kept, on which the inmates sleep without any covering. In the centre of each house is a square fire-place, with a post driven securely into the earth at each corner, which supports a hurdle where the kitchen utensils are placed, consisting of a few wooden bowls carved rudely and hollowed out from solid blocks of timber. The fire-place is sunk two feet below the level of the floor, and paved with small black stones very hard. Here a lively fire is continually kept up during the day for culinary purposes, and during the night to drive away the musquitoes.

Their clothing consists of a belt formed of

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slit cane or rattan, polished highly to a fine black. This slit rattan is twisted into a concatenation of small hoops, with a piece of cloth sewed to the part intended to be next the skin, in order to prevent the wearer from being cut by the edges of the cane. From this girdle a a piece of cloth depends in front, which passes between the legs, and is brought up behind and fastened to the belt. The cloth is about three feet long by one wide, and is manufactured from the Chinese paper-tree at some of the neighbouring islands. The dress of the females consists of a belt round their loins, similar to that worn by the men, from which is suspended a kilt reaching to the knee.

The old men do not dress their hair, but wear it in a state of nature; except a few, who use lime as hair powder: but the young men procure a quantity of hair from the dead or their vanquished enemies, which they model into a conical shape, resembling a small sugar-loaf, and about twelve inches high, which is wrapped up in cloth (red if it can be procured) exactly fitted to it, and thus attached to the back part of the head, forming a peak, that gives the wearer a most odd appearance. The young women wear their hair after the same fashion. The cartilage of the ears is perforated and stretched to an enormous length, till it reaches the shoulders. The diameter of the perforation

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is about six inches, into which they introduce the first link of a chain of about thirty tortoise-shell ear-rings, each about an inch in diameter. Few of them have good teeth, from their immoderate use of lime and betel-nut, to which they are greater slaves than the most determined Dutch smoker is to tobacco. Children of both sexes run about naked till their tenth year, when they are initiated into the use of the betel-nut and clothing at the same time. Bracelets of different kinds are much in use among them; the neatest kind that I observed was one of matting intermixed with small shells, in the workmanship of which some ingenuity was displayed. Red cloth was an article much in demand, for the purpose of adorning their head-dresses, which in the absence of this sumptuous appendage was generally set off with tapper.

Of their religious ceremonies I can give no account, not having had an opportunity of acquiring any information on the subject.

Female children are betrothed to boys of their own age, and when arrived at maturity the marriage is consummated, when all the inhabitants of the village celebrate the event in feasting and rejoicing. The island is but thinly inhabited, there not being more villages on the whole coast than are laid down on the chart; the whole population I think does not exceed 1,000 of both sexes and all ages, one-fourth of

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whom are diseased by ulcers on their limbs, cancer in the face, and a disease confined to the lymphatic system, called the elephantiasis.

Their canoes are formed out of the trunk of a tree as soft as deal, about fifteen or twenty feet long, through which an excavation of about six inches broad is cut, where the rowers sit with their legs before one another, and up to their calves in the hollow: the upper part being smooth, serves as the seat. All their canoes have outriggers, which are placed on the weather side, connected with the vessel by planks, and sometimes by a basket-work forming a kind of platform, upon which the warriors stand to fight, and place their bows and arrows ready for use. The whole breadth of the vessel, including the wicker-work communicating with the outrigger, is six feet, the lower part being very well modelled for swift motion through the water.

By the natives' account this island was never visited by Europeans, either before or since the ships were wrecked till now. Captain Edwards of the *Pandora*, passed midway between Mannicolo and Otooboa, and named the former Pitt's Island. On some charts it is called Recherche's Island, but how it acquired that name I am ignorant. The ship commanded by Admiral d'Entrecasteaux, while in search of la Pérouse, was named *Recherche*; but the island could not have been named by that commander,

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since he never visited it, not having been nearer to it than forty miles, according to the track laid down in the chart as the one which he pursued on his way from New Caledonia to Santa Cruz. In Labillardière's narrative of d'Entrecasteaux's voyage, no mention is made of their having seen Mannicolo. The first land they sighted after quitting Huon Island was Santa Cruz, where they remained a few days cruizing off and on, being as usual unsuccessful in finding anchorage. It was here that, on sending a boat on shore, the crew were shot at by a native, who slightly scratched one of the men in the forehead with an arrow, of which he died seventeen days after, not deeming the wound at first of sufficient consequence to trouble himself with applying a remedy to it. This circumstance, combined with the number of men Mandano lost in a similar manner, corroborates the belief of their arrows being poisoned.

From the geographical situation of Mannicolo, and the similarity in appearance, manners, and customs between its inhabitants and those of Santa Cruz, with whom a constant intercourse is kept up, it ought to be considered one of the Queen Charlotte's Islands.

The natives are fancifully tattooed on the back, with figures of fishes, lizards, &c.; but owing to the dark colour of their skin the marks in general are not visible. The lime used with

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their betel-nut is carried in joints of bamboo, gourds, or calibashes, about the size and shape of a cucumber, with the end cut off, and the inside scraped and hollowed out clean. The shell or calibash, while soft, is ornamented with figures traced on it by fine-pointed firebrands. It is then dried, the lime put into it, and the aperture closed with a wooden stopper or plug. The betel-nut and leaf are kept in bags tastily wrought of various colours.

8th.—Strong trades, approaching to a gale; with fine clear weather.

At 7½ A.M. several islanders came on board with cocoa-nuts for sale. Among the number was Thangeroa, the intelligent Leeward Islander, and his wife and son were in a canoe alongside. He said that neither they nor his other friends would consent to his departure, but that he had brought with him a native of Otooboa, a great traveller, who had visited all the islands in the group to leeward, and that if I pleased he should supply his place. I agreed to take him, and presented his friend with an adze, and as by this time the anchor was tripped, the canoes left the ship. As they were about to depart, a friend of Thangeroa, willing to remain behind, couched down on the quarter-deck, in order to evade the notice of his countrymen; which Rathea, the Tucopian, perceiving, ordered him over the side. I interfered, saying,

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that if he wished to go I would take him ; when a man of some authority mounted on deck from the canoes, took him by the hand, and requested him to return. As he seemed unwilling to comply, I endeavoured to improve his disposition by presenting him with an adze, which he instantly transferred to the person who wished him to quit the ship, and thus got rid of his solicitations. The islanders from the other canoes now began to call to him to quit the vessel, which seemed to make him waver between a desire to please them and fear of displeasing me ; but at length the *amor patriæ* prevailed, and he slipped into the canoe, pushing off to shore in company with his friends.

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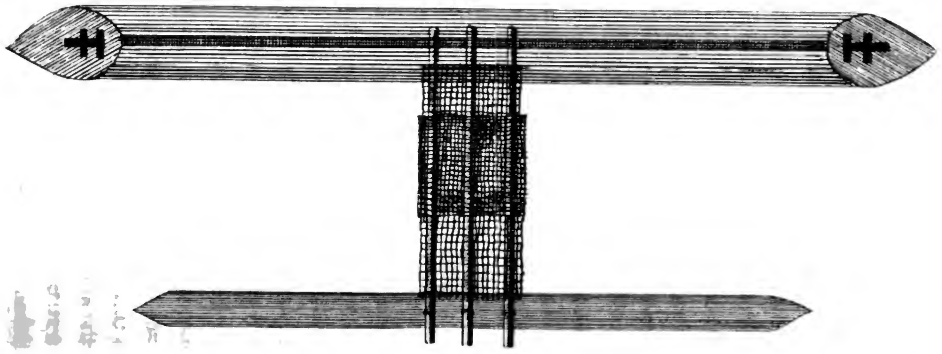
Canoe of the Isle of St. Croix or Indenny



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CHAPTER IV.

OCCURRENCES AFTER LEAVING MANNICOLO, WITH OUR ARRIVAL AT AND DEPARTURE FROM SANTA CRUZ.

Oct. 8th 1827.—At 7 A.M. we set sail and steered close along the west shore of Lord Combermere's Island per compass N.N.E. for Hayes' Channel, which we entered at 10 o'clock, from whence we steered N. by W. for an hour, when we altered our course to W.N.W. for Otooboa.

During the twenty-five days we anchored off Mannicolo, an uninterrupted harmony subsisted between us and the natives, who regretted our departure with unfeigned sorrow; and, much to their credit, no instance of dishonesty occurred, though frequent opportunities were not wanting to tempt them.

At noon the latitude observed was 11° 25′ S., with the centre of Otooboa distant about five leagues, bearing W. by N.½N. At 3 P.M. we were four or five miles distant from the centre of this island, when Mannicolo was still in sight, with the mountain of King Charles the Tenth towering above the clouds. The east side of Otooboa at this distance off shore appeared to lay in a north and south line of about six or eight miles; it then trended off to the N.N.W. for six or eight miles more, which was all the coast we

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could see as yet. It appeared to be indented on the east side with three large bays: between the centre and south bay, on a headland there was a larger village than I had before seen among these islands.

The coast is fronted by a coral reef which lies two miles off shore in most places, and appeared to extend no farther along the coast from south than to that part where the shore took a north-west direction. It appeared from the ship that round the end of the reef, and between it and the most eastwardly part of the coast, there was a large open entrance to pass inside of the reef, where there would probably be found a good reef harbour. We saw one canoe under sail close to the reef, apparently standing out to meet us, but suddenly lost sight of her.

At 3½ P.M. tacked to the eastward and shortened sail, it being now too late to send the boats ashore and allow of time to return before dark. At 5 P.M. tacked to south-west, and stood close to the wind on the larboard tack. At 6 our fate was nearly decided, and all my labour utterly destroyed, by the neglect of a man at the masthead who had the look-out.

It being generally dark about 6½ P.M. since our arrival among these islands, I directed the chief officer to go aloft and take a look round the horizon. I went myself upon the forecastle to take a view of the coast ahead, when the

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officer came down and informed me that no other island was in sight. I then gave orders to tack to the eastward for the night, and proceeded towards the poop; but in my way, on looking out of one of the ports, I was horror-struck at seeing the bottom quite plainly, and not more than three fathoms water alongside. The helm was instantly put down to bring the ship about. On raising tacks and sheets, the pin to which the main bowline was made fast broke, and allowed the main-sail to come aback. At this critical moment I expected to see the ship strike, but fortunately she stayed. By this time I got a man to heave the lead: on the first and second casts he found five and a half fathoms; the third, eight fathoms; and the fourth cast no bottom could be found with thirteen fathoms of line. The point or end of the before-mentioned reef was now in sight, bearing per compass south-east by south from one and a half to two miles; the extremes of the coast from S.½E. to south-west by west. My business at Otooboa was to see if the chief of the Pawcorie tribe had arrived there with the Frenchman named Mara.

9*th*.—Moderate trades with fine clear weather. The draughtsman and several seamen confined to their beds by fever and ague. I now experienced the utility of the South-Sea islanders both as boatmen and marines. In case of attack from the natives of the islands among which we

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now were, I could not without them man two boats, for the lascars do not understand the use of arms, and are regarded with great contempt by the warriors of the South-Sea.

At daylight we had Mannicolo in sight bear-S.E. and by S. per compass: Otooboa bore S.S.W.; and Santa Cruz or Indenney N.W. by W. These are all the islands we could see: there are several others however laid down on Captain Carteret's charts of this part, which do not exist. The only island to be seen from the ship in this situation is Otooboa; and the islanders now on board, and the Mannicolans, assert that there are no more on this side of Indenney. I make the latitude of Otooboa to be at its eastern part, 11° 11′ 18″ S., and long. 166° 53′ E.

During my cruize off this island I had a full view of it, and could see nothing of Lord Edgecumbe's Island or New Lark of Carteret, nor of the three small islands laid down off the west point of the former. In fact, no such islands now exist, and Captain Carteret must have been deceived in thick weather, mistaking the peaked mountains on Otooboa for the four islands to which he has given a place on his chart to the west of this island.

At 7 A.M. sent two armed boats under the chief officer's command to Otooboa, accompanied by M. Chaigneau, Martin Bushart, Rathea, and the man who came from Manni-

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colo with us. At 4 P.M. they returned with two strange Tucopians; the officer reported that the reef which fronts the shore on the S.W. and S. and S.E. sides of the island extends nearly abreast of the east cape, where it breaks no farther. That from the part where the reef ceases to break a narrow coral spit runs along the line of the shore to the north-west as far as could be seen from the boats. That the water appeared deep enough for ships to pass over it to the shore, where there were several bays with good anchorage. They visited two native villages, at one of which the passenger from Mannicolo left them, and the two Tucopians embarked.

Martin Bushart recounts that on approaching the shore a fine large village opened to view, to which the boats pulled up. The people came to the beach, and were friendly, which reception, as he afterwards learnt, was caused by some Tucopian who resides on the island, and spoke to the natives in favour of the Europeans.

Here Martin landed with Rathea, and found that the greater part of the people were furnished with iron tools procured from Mannicolo. He inquired if they had seen the white man who left Mannicolo with the Pawcorie tribe; they said he had never been at their island. Martin then asked whether they could tell if he was on any of the islands to leeward: they

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replied that there were several islands both to windward and leeward of Mannicolo, and he might be on one of them.

The houses of this village are much larger than those at Mannicolo, and laid out in streets crossing each other at right angles, with cocoa-nut trees planted on each side opposite the houses, forming an agreeable shade. The population is more numerous and healthy than at Mannicolo, and no scarcity of food appears. He proceeded two or three miles to the south-eastward, where there is another village much larger. Here he landed, and found three Tucopians, who informed him that they wished to return home, or go with the ship to the Leeward Islands. He said they might embark in the boats, which they did, but one relanded to take leave of his sweetheart, and did not return. This village is laid out and planted like the former. He saw several pigs much larger than those at Mannicolo, but could not prevail on the natives to sell one, being, as they said, the property of the gods. He inquired here, as at the other village, for the Frenchman, and received similar answers. At both places he made diligent search for any articles that might tend to elucidate the object in view, and was informed by the inhabitants that the only things they had were *tokees* (iron-ware). The oldest of the Tucopians never saw an Eu-

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ropean or ship before. He left his native island for Mannicolo about two years before the *Hunter* touched at Tucopia and landed Martin; the other two left their island about six years after.

Bushart having concluded his narrative, I stood to the eastward under easy sail for the night. At noon I set the three points of the island in my view, and found the bearings as follow: East point, S.E. by S. per compass six miles; north point, S. by W. six miles; the centre point or head between those, S. by E. distance off four miles. Latitude observed at noon, 11° 7′ S.

10*th.*—At daylight Mannicolo, Otooboa, and Indenney were in sight. Set all sail, and steered N.N.W. for the latter, and shortly after N.W. and W.½N. At 9 A.M. the Volcano or Thinnacooro Island was in sight, with its summit hid by the clouds. At half-past 10 A.M. the east point of Indenney (called by Capt. Carteret, Cape Byron) bore S. by E. one or two miles. Shortly after two villages came in sight; one to the east of Swallow Bay, and the other at the bottom of the bay. Some canoes came off with cocoa-nuts and other things for sale, but we were going so fast as not to admit of any intercourse. As we passed along-shore we observed a number of villages, and people standing on the beach, with canoes coming from all parts of the shore. There we observed many persons:

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some sitting and others standing, under the shade of large trees, who were covered with cloth from head to foot, on which account I supposed them to be females.

At noon the ship was near to Bloody Bay, where Captain Carteret's master and four seamen received the wounds that caused their deaths, in August 1767. We were here about one mile north of the shore, and I observed the latitude to be 10° 39′ S. Several canoes came out from this bay, but were not able to keep way with us, and one of them was upset with her cargo, by holding on the tow-rope too long.

On many parts of the shore we saw a much larger kind of canoe than those which came off to us, hauled up, and covered with cocoa-nut-leaf mats. The large canoes, I suppose, are used for foreign voyages, and the others for domestic purposes. On passing Ferris' Bay town, a very large village came in sight, from which eighteen canoes were launched, but dropped astern, as did all the others.

At 1½ P.M. I hauled round Carteret's Point, and stood up la Gracioso Bay of the Spaniards. On bringing Trevannion's Island to bear W. by N., I had soundings in twenty-five fathoms, on a point or spit of coral that ran off from the main land; the next cast I had no ground with forty fathoms line. We stood up the bay, as close to the wind as the weather would permit,

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and made about a S.S.W. course, no bottom to be found with forty-five fathoms line.

On opening the passage between Tyrawley's Point and Monates' Point, the banks or sands which obstruct the passage were dry, with something standing on them like small black rocks or a forest of piles, projecting above the water. On a nearer approach, I found this was occasioned by hundreds of people with canoes fishing on the reef. As soon as the ship was perceived, twenty-five of these canoes approached, and the crowds of people retired to the shores of both points from the fishery. At this time there were upwards of a hundred canoes coming off to us; the people in them making friendly signs, calling out "*Takee, takee,*" and exhibiting their cocoa-nuts, &c. We were too much engaged to traffic with them freely, but purchased a few things in exchange for fish-hooks.

We now passed the opening between Trevannion's and Monates' Points, when it became necessary to tack to the eastward. Bottom was not found with seventy fathoms' line, nor on the east side of the bay with seventy-five. The water was as smooth as glass, with no surf on the shores. I continued working the ship up toward the head of the bay, expecting every moment to find bottom, but was disappointed. At ten minutes past 5 P.M. I determined to stand out to sea for the night, and come in again to-

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morrow to seek for anchorage. At this time I might be distant from the head of the bay two miles, and reluctantly gave up the ground I had gained with such trouble. At 6½ P.M. it was dark, Carteret's Point then bearing E. by N. This is the east point of the great bay, up which I sailed about seven miles. I directed the ship to be hauled close to the wind on the starboard tack, and stood out to the N.E. The volcano on Thinnacooro was observed at this distance to emit flames every five minutes, but hardly perceptible at so great a distance. I was becalmed in the ship *St. Patrick* for one night off this volcano in May 1826, and saw it emit immense quantities of lava, which rolled down its sides in torrents.

As the ship passed up the bay to-day I could discern several villages on each side. The houses were larger than are generally to be found on the islands in the South Seas, with a door at each end and one on each side. Every house was surrounded by a dry stone wall, four or five feet high and as many thick, with an opening or gateway: it may thence be inferred that the natives frequently quarrel among themselves, and when necessary retreat behind the walls for shelter.

Most of the canoes to-day were navigated by two men, others by three, four, or five; but, whatever the number, there was always a bow

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for each, with a number of arrows. We nearly had a misunderstanding with one of these people. Before they became so numerous alongside, I had a rope placed over each side, towing in the water, and another over the stern, for them to hold on by with their canoes; but when the wind became light, I found that the canoes considerably retarded the ship, and I therefore ordered the ropes to be hauled in. Two were got in without trouble, but a man held fast by the third, and refused to let it go, though frequently called to, till at length the gunner snatched the rope away, at which he exhibited evident marks of displeasure, at the same time seizing his bow in one hand, while in the other he grasped an arrow. Apprehensive that hostilities, if commenced by one man, might become general and serious, there being at least six hundred men about the ship, all armed, to prevent the impending mischief I instantly ordered the guard on the poop, with loaded muskets, put the ship about, and soon lost sight of the offender. The other islanders took no notice of what passed, and continued to barter away their trifles, but could not by any means be induced to come on deck, though the two Tucopians from Otooboa did all they could to entice them. On seeing the ship stand out to sea they seemed disappointed; but the Tucopians, who had been at this place before, and

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understood a little of their language, assured them we intended to return in the morning, on which they promised to bring us some pigs.

Although this island is not far from Mannicolo the dialect is totally different, but the dress and ornaments of the natives are similar. They dye their woolly hair white, yellow, or purple, according to fancy, and some of them wear caps of the paper-cloth, cocoa-nut leaves, or fan-palm, shaped like a sugar-loaf. I did not see any diseased among them, which unhappily was not the case with the Mannicolans.

The Spaniards, it is said, had a colony upon this island for a short period in the year 1595, under Admiral Mendana, but were obliged to abandon it, having quarrelled with the natives, and I am of opinion that the *Research* is the first European vessel that has since entered the bay.

One of the Tucopians on board resided for some time at the low island to the N.E., called Mamme: he spoke to a young man of a light copper colour in one of the canoes this evening, with whose father he lived. This person promised to come off to-morrow with some provisions, if the ship returned; and, as I observed him to be very familiar with the Tucopian, I hoped to find him useful to us.

11*th*.—Moderate trades with fine weather. At 3 A.M. tacked ship to the southward, and stood in for the land. At 6 A.M. passed Point Carteret

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and stood up la Graciosa's Bay. On bringing the north part of Trevanion's Island to bear W. by N. and W.N.W. we had soundings of sixteen fathoms at a cable's length to the west or leeward of the reef which fronts the shore on the east side of the bay at this part.

Canoes were launched from all sides, loaded with pigs, barn-door fowls, large pigeons, a kind of cucumber, the mangosteen, and a fruit well known at Otaheita called by the islanders *ehea*, which they offered for sale. At 8 A.M. we counted one hundred and thirty-five canoes about the ship.

The wind falling light, with flying showers of rain, they kept close to the ship on all sides. I was apprehensive that they might attempt to board us, and therefore got the guard of Marines on the poop. We kept the lead going, but could not get ground with seventy fathoms line. The islanders were so clamorous that we could with difficulty hear each other speak, and being numerous I dared not send the boats out to sound, as it was likely they would attack them.

At this time I thought of standing out to sea, and directed the interpreters to inquire if there were, or ever had been, any white men on the island from the ship lost at Mannicolo, but could obtain no satisfactory answer. I now had to tack to the eastward, at the place where I stood out from last night, and saw several

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canoes coming off from the east side of the bay to the ship. We had not been many minutes round before I perceived that the islanders meditated mischief; the first notice of their intentions was by shooting two arrows at the persons sitting on the poop, and at the same moment I observed several of them begin to string their bows. The wind being light, such an unequivocal display of their intentions gave me sufficient reason to expect a general attack, to prevent which I ordered the guard on the poop to fire. After the first volley I stopped the firing, several of the islanders having plunged into the water out of their canoes, and dived away from the ship, while those who had sufficient courage to remain in them retreated toward shore with the utmost precipitation, bending their course for the west shore to a large village, off which we tacked; while the others recovering from their trepidation regained their canoes and made off with all possible speed toward the village. In the course of five minutes not a single canoe remained about the ship. One of the arrows passed close to my clerk's head, and through the driver, falling on the deck: the other struck one of the quarter-boats and fell into the water. In the firing I did not perceive that any of the natives were killed or wounded.

A breeze springing up I took advantage of it to get among the canoes on the east side of

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the bay, before they could learn from their neighbours on the opposite shore any thing of the misunderstanding between them and us. This was the more necessary in order to anticipate the ill-impressions that the western villagers would no doubt attempt to make on their minds, with the view of forming a powerful coalition against us, and effecting our destruction.

The bay being very wide, I observed that although the eastern canoes were in sight, they were out of hearing of the muskets; as was evident from their persisting in their course for the ship while confusion reigned among the islanders alongside: a circumstance that whilst it proved their ignorance of the affair, pointed out to me the policy of making the first communication of it to them, with assurances of a peaceful disposition toward them so long as they shewed an inclination to maintain a friendly intercourse. I therefore stood towards and soon came among them. As I had conjectured, they knew nothing of what had just taken place; to ingratiate myself, therefore, in their good opinion without delay, I made presents to those who came alongside, and gave whatever price they demanded for such trifles as they offered for sale. Thus, as it were, forestalling their good opinion, I ordered the Tucopian to shew them the broken arrow their countrymen on the other side of the bay had shot on board the

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ship, with the hole it made in the driver, and to ask what caused them to shoot at us who came as friends to visit and make them presents of such things as they wanted. They replied without hesitation, that those who shot the arrows at us were bad people, that they belonged to another tribe, and we served them right by shooting at them.

I do not however think those people would have ventured to attack us, had they been aware that we possessed such effectual means of retaliation. And when I ordered the firing to cease, it was truly amusing to observe the evident marks of disappointment which the Marquess of Wyemattee and Robert Tytler, the New Zealand M.D., exhibited at my forbearance; the former exclaiming with some surprise, "What, no more fire! I want a man to eat:" and the latter very coolly observing, "That his hand would be out of practice in dissecting by the time he got back to New Zealand, and that he wanted to take one of their heads home with him to shew the sort of people we had visited." It will be recollected that the New Zealanders have a method of preserving human heads: several of which are to be seen in the British Museum, and at the Asiatic Society's rooms at Calcutta.

After making several tacks we at length succeeded in getting soundings in thirty-seven fa-

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thoms, at the distance of three-quarters of a mile from the head of the bay. We let go the anchor, and found it take ground in forty-one fathoms fine black sand. The anchorage was about midway between two good-sized villages, each about three-quarters of a mile distant, situated near the head of the bay. One bore per compass from the ship N.E.¼N., the other S.W. by S.: the entrance of a river at the head of the bay bore S.E. by S., distance also three-quarters of a mile. We were shut in by the land from N.½E. round by the way of east to N.½W., and were open to the sea only one point of the compass. The top of Thinnacora, or Volcano Island, was in sight over Trevanion's Island, bearing N. by W.½W.

We wore out the chain-cable to seventy-one fathoms, the depth of water a-head being then forty-three fathoms, under the stern forty-five fathoms, and at each gangway forty-four fathoms and a-half. The soundings from the ship to the east shore were from thirty-two to fifteen fathoms. At the distance of a cable-length from the shore there was fourteen fathoms. At this distance off shore, up towards the head of the bay, there was from fourteen to twenty fathoms. From the ship toward the village on the south-west side the soundings were from forty-four to two fathoms over a rocky uneven bottom, and such as no ship ought to anchor

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on. A ship anchoring in this port ought to bring up nearest to the north-shore, where the ground is clear. In a direct line from the *Research* to the entrance of the fresh-water river at the head of the bay the soundings varied from forty-two to twenty-two fathoms: at the distance of a cable-length from the mouth of the river there was seventeen fathoms, and at half that distance ten fathoms. The bottom was a sticky black sand and good holding ground.

From the time we let go the anchor to sunset the ship was surrounded with canoes, the people in which were very peaceable, and sold their cocoa-nuts, yams, &c. fairly for fish-hooks, glass-beads, &c.: we also procured six small pigs of the island breed for an axe each.

The anchor was gone but a short time when the copper-coloured young man from Mamme came alongside, and his friend the Tucopian having prevailed on him to come on board, I made him a present of some red cloth, an adze, knife, and scissors. I then inquired if he had heard of what took place this morning, and shewed him the broken arrow: He replied that he was acquainted with the affair, and that one of the islanders was wounded in the arm by a musket-ball which broke the bone. He said that the people who wished to kill us belonged to the Malevy tribe, inhabiting a large village of that name on the main land, up the bay, one mile and a

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half distant from Trevannion's Island. I intimated to him my wish that some of the chiefs should come on board, when he called to an old man, much fairer than the others, who without hesitation entered the ship. He said his name was Lamoa, which according to the custom of the South-sea islanders I desired him to exchange for my name and become my friend, to which he consented, and told me that for the future he should be called Peter and I Lamoa. I presented my new friend with an axe, red cloth, scissors, beads, &c. with which he was much gratified, and seemed very proud of his new alliance, acquainting his countrymen in the canoes with his good fortune. He asked permission to go on shore, promising to return in the morning with some cooked food for my breakfast: I allowed him to depart, and saw the axe carried on shore in triumph upon a man's shoulder, the natives shouting with joy as they went along.

With respect to the poor Frenchman from Mannicolo I could get no intelligence whatever, all the answers of these people on the subject corresponding with the Otooboan's.

I was sorry to learn that a man had been wounded by our firing this morning, but the great first law of nature, self-preservation, compelled me to adopt that prompt mode of convincing those people, that although friendly to them, and harmless when unassailed, yet we

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possessed the means when required effectually to repel their attacks.

12*th*.—Fresh trades, with cloudy weather and light rain at intervals. Shortly after daylight we were visited by the islanders, and procured from them three or four very small pigs, some cocoa-nuts, and a few pieces of cloth apparently woven in a kind of loom, but I expected a much greater supply from so numerous a population. My friend Lamoa and two of his sons were among the visitors: they entered the ship without hesitation and presented me a dozen yams, a few sweet potatoes, and fifteen beetle-nuts. I found that Lamoa was not chief of either of the villages near the ship, but of one called Mambo, situated on the east side of the bay, about four or five miles from the anchorage. He inquired why the ship came so far up the bay, and requested I would move her to his town, where he said there were good runs of fresh water, from which I could be supplied, as he understood I wanted some. I replied that when I anchored here I did not know him, but as he was now my friend I would to oblige him shift my station in the morning. That it would be necessary, however, to send the boats first to view the harbour, and ascertain the depth of water that was off his town; and as he offered his services to go in one of the boats I gladly accepted them.

At a few minutes past 10 A.M. I dispatched

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two armed boats; Lamoa with two of his people embarking in one, and in the other Martin Bushart, the Tucopian who joined us at Otooboa, and two more of Lamoa's followers. The boats reached Mambo at 11, and found a small bay bearing due east from the channel which separates Trevannion's Island from the main land on the south side. There were no soundings with one hundred and ten fathoms, at the distance of two cable-lengths from the shore. At half a cable's-length from the centre of the bay the soundings were forty fathoms with sand bottom: between these soundings and the shore the bottom shoaled to fifteen fathoms rocky ground, so that this bay will not answer for a ship to anchor in. The boats pulled into the river a head, and passed a quarter of a mile up it: the water was quite fresh, and the stream about twelve fathoms wide and three feet deep, with a fine pebble bottom.

Martin Bushart landed at Mambo, accompanied by Lamoa and the Tucopian. He described the village as consisting of several large houses surrounded by dry stone walls: the floors matted over, with a cooking-place in the centre like those at Mannicolo. The inhabitants had plenty of food, were clean in their persons and dress, free from disease, and might consist of about one hundred men, the rest being abroad, partly at the ship. There were several large pigs in

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the village, which the inhabitants did not seem inclined to dispose of. Among the women were some good-looking girls, attired in a piece of cloth which reached from the loins down to the calf of the leg, and over the head and shoulders was thrown a piece of coarse cloth. Their lips, teeth, and mouths were stained and disfigured by the frequent use of beetle-nut and lime.

Yesterday evening my attention was attracted by an old man who had two most singular teeth in his lower jaw. I wished to get him on deck to examine them; but could not. I at first concluded that the supposed teeth were pieces of bone introduced into his lower jaw, in shape and size like the teeth of a full grown ox. This morning my surprize was increased by observing several men in the canoes alongside with teeth much larger than those I saw yesterday in the chief's lower jaw. I prevailed on two of them to come on board, one of whom I requested to sell me what had excited my wonder; which however I found firmly fixed in his jaws, and not an artificial ornament as I had supposed it. Anxious to possess this dental curiosity, I offered a joiner's plane-iron for it, and then an adze; but neither was considered an equivalent. Resolved to procure it if possible, I exhibited a large axe, on seeing which one of these gentry, who had a most enormous tooth in the front of his lower

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jaw, commenced dragging it out but experienced great difficulty in the attempt; I therefore got the surgeon's tooth-drawing instrument with a view of assisting him, which not being sufficiently large, I had recourse to the carpenter's pincers. With this the doctor got hold of the tooth as if in play, and by a sudden jerk twisted it out of the jaw. He bled freely, demanded the axe, which having secured, he jumped about with delight at the advantage he had gained by the exchange. I learnt that this person was a priest, and of course a magician, such as are on most of the islands in the Pacific. He left the ship for some time, but returned in the afternoon accoutred like an European pedlar, with a bag at his back containing several pieces of wove cloth for sale. It was closed at the top by a kind of strings and suspended from his neck by a belt. Having come on board he pulled off his bag, and began to talk and sing, without seeming to experience any inconvenience from the loss of his tooth. I ordered him some yam and pork, but before it came up he pretended to be seized with violent fits, during which he sung, cried, laughed, and appeared to converse with a spirit who inspired him. Our people on board stared with amazement: and the Serang told me that this was a bad man who would bewitch the ship. He said he once saw a fellow of the kind at Muscat, who used to create living goats out of wood and sell them.

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The Marquis of Wyemattee observed that there were many similar instances of inspiration at New Zealand, both with men and women, who while the fits lasted invariably spoke truth. All this time the canoes kept at a respectful distance from the ship; except one, from which two men took up their station in the chains, and intimated that the priest should have a *tokey*. I accordingly presented him with an adze and string of beads; but he pretended to be too much engaged with the gods to pay any attention to sublunary matters, and went on ranting as before. Soon after, however, he suddenly started up, hooted and hallowed most vociferously, opened his bag, threw the pork, yam, adze, and beads into it (being now sufficiently disengaged to attend secular affairs), handed his bag over the side into his canoe, into which he leaped with surprizing agility, and pushing off kept braying till we lost sight of him. The seamen, who are ever ready to make merry at the expence of their betters, christened him Parson Bedford (from his resemblance, as they said, to a clergyman at Van Diemen's Land, particularly about the lips) by which appellation he was known during all his subsequent visits.

The people at this island bury their dead under ground. The females are modest, and are betrothed in marriage when young to boys of their own age or to adults. Persons of rank may have

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as many wives as they can maintain, but the poorer people are satisfied with one each. Fowls of the barn-door breed, and pigs, are to be found wild in the woods.

13*th.*—Cloudy weather with light rain at intervals throughout this day. I observed the latitude at noon 10° 46′ S. which places the head of the bay in 10° 46′ 45″ S.

Two boats were employed bringing off water from the river they entered yesterday, to fill our empty casks. About two hundred yards from the river a spring of fresh water gushes out from the rocks, which I suppose to be the watering-place in the account of the Spanish settlement at this island.

I found his excellency Morgan McMurragh fast asleep to day while charged to look out for the safety of the ship, and to give notice if the boats were attacked on shore. I chastised him for this negligence, at which he was offended, and entered as one of the crew in the watering boat; and on the boat returning, the officer informed me that he had deserted into the woods. This did not make me uneasy, as I knew Morgan too well to suppose he would remain on an island from which there was not the least chance of being able to return to his own country. Nor was I mistaken; for two hours had scarcely elapsed when I observed him standing on the shore, surrounded by the natives, who were ad-

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miring the beautiful tattooed lines on his face; and when I sent a boat on shore, his excellency embarked in it with apparent pleasure at being rescued from consequences to which his sulkiness had nearly exposed him.

About half of the European seamen were at this time confined to their beds by fever and ague, as well as M. Chaigneau and our draughtsman; and several others complained, but only those who had been exposed in the boats at Mannicolo were seriously attacked by sickness. I in consequence called a council, pursuant to my instructions, to discuss the propriety of making further search among the islands for the Europeans who escaped from the wrecks, when it was unanimously declared that further search would be inexpedient.

The Tucopian interpreter having quitted his island under a positive engagement to be returned when his services were no longer required, intimated his wish that the tenor of it should be fulfilled. I offered him a large remuneration if he would consent to remain here, or to give him the long boat to take himself, his two countrymen, and Martin Bushart and his wife to Tucopia; but both proposals were rejected: the first, on the plea that he was old, and wished to end his days among his friends; and the second, on account of the time they would have to wait here for a westerly wind, during which the peo-

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ple of Indenney, who were numerous, would plunder the boat, unawed by our presence, and murder her owners. I therefore had no alternative but to call a council of my officers, to deliberate on what steps to take in order to comply with my promises to Rathea. They were all of opinion, that I was in duty bound to adhere faithfully to the terms on which the Tucopian embarked in the expedition; and that, at this season of the year, a ship bound for Tucopia from hence ought to stand to the southward until she entered the variable winds, and then steer to the eastward until her longitude was run down, so as to make that island without difficulty.

The islanders in the neighbourhood were very friendly, and came on board with the greatest confidence, one of them assisting to water the ship, for which purpose he went in the boat each trip. Parson Bedford, who sold me his tooth, came on board this morning quite merry, and made me a present of another, equally large with the one from his own jaw. He visited the tops and every part of the ship, assisted in hoisting in the water, and on the whole appeared a very sprightly old man. I fitted him out with a shirt, red cap, and pantaloons, with which he was much pleased, his countrymen laughing heartily at the grotesque figure he made in his new attire. On examining the

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tooth he brought me, I soon discovered the cause of its unnatural size; for having cut through the outward shell with ease, I found a perfect tooth, imbedded within innumerable coats of cement, formed by the lime and betel-nut juice that had been for years incrusting itself around, till it gradually accumulated to its present enormous size.

I sent an officer to examine the beach, and ascertain if the accounts given by the Spaniards agreed with our observations on the fresh-water river, and on the clear spring gushing from under the rock. He landed at the place and proceeded a few paces accompanied by the natives, who then made signs to him to return to the boats, and on his hesitating to comply, a priest became inspired like my friend Parson Bedford. The officer therefore, as it was politic to humour them, embarked without further demur.

I found the natives generally inclined to make very inadequate returns for the presents we made them, nor did they seem to set the value upon iron tools that I expected. Whether this proceeded from covetousness or an ignorance of the real value of the articles I cannot say, but as I have introduced the use of iron tools among them, I doubt not, when they experience their utility, they will become as eager to acquire them as their neighbours in the Pacific.

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On handling my sextant to observe the latitude at noon, all the canoes shoved off in great confusion, supposing it to be an offensive instrument with which I was about to discharge arrows.

Charles Stewart, the man shipped at Tucopia, requested me to-day to allow him to go on shore at this place with the two Tucopians from Otooboa, as he said he wished to return with them to Mannicolo, where he would stop till he had attained a perfect knowledge of the language, and ascertained what took place there after the ships were lost off Paiow and Wannow. I gladly acquiesced, and sent to my newly-adopted friend Lamoa, desiring him to come on board in the morning to make some arrangements for the purpose.

A native this evening pointed to his village, north-east from the ship, and inquired if I would not go to Pueblo, which was the name he mentioned. Now as *pueblo* is the Spanish for a "town," perhaps it was here that Mendana built his town, which has still retained the name.

14*th*.—Strong trades, with squally weather and rain at intervals. Having anchored in forty-two fathoms with a chain anchor and chain, I began to heave up at 4 A.M., but did not succeed in getting it to the bows till 8; and such was the reduced state of my crew by fever and ague, that had I remained among those islands a week longer, I think I should not have had sufficient

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strength to weigh anchor in ten fathoms water. Half of my crew were confined by sickness, I was myself far from enjoying good health, and many on board were greatly indisposed.

At 8½ A.M. Lamoa came on board with some trifling presents of potatoes, cocoa-nuts, and yams, and I got one of the Tucopians to explain to him that Stewart and they wished to remain with him for some time and then proceed to Mannicolo. He promised to take the greatest care of them for my sake, and said he hoped to see me again in ten moons. I presented him with some axes, beads, scissars, &c. on which he introduced three other persons whom he represented as chiefs, to whom I also made some presents, and then repaired to the quarter-deck, where I found Stewart prepared to embark. I paid him off for the time he had served in the *Research*, and furnished him besides with a Bible, musket, powder, ball, pens, ink, pencils, penknives, cutlery, ironmongery, &c., with which he went into Lamoa's canoe. The chief finding her too heavily laden leaped into the water, and bore her up till she was lightened by some others quitting her. Two people then pulled the canoe, while a third took care of Stewart by placing his hands on his shoulders most affectionately. Things being thus arranged I stood out to sea, and observed about

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one hundred canoes, in close procession around Stewart's canoe, that was making for the land. Mambo is the residence of Lamoa, who is a man about forty-five years old, of a light copper-colour and woolly headed. The diversity of colour and features among these people is surprising: some are coal black, others of a chocolate colour, and several of a light copper-colour with straight hair.

I got sights for the chronometer off Cape Byron on the day I made land, and off Point Carteret to-day. The former I make in longitude 166° 21′ E., and the latter 165° 52′ E. This would shew the length of the north side of the island to be twenty-nine miles, which is fourteen miles short of the extent of coast given on Captain Carteret's chart in Hawksworth's collection of voyages. I had Cape Byron bearing south off the ship one mile at half past 10 A.M. At 2 P.M. Point Carteret bore south. We ran six miles per hour for three hours and a half, which would be twenty-one miles: and allowing for current in my favour one mile per hour, would make the length of the north side of the island twenty-four miles and a half. In my voyage in the *St. Patrick* in 1826, I found the length of the island as I passed to be twenty-five miles, in an east and west direction.

At 11 A.M. I hauled round the north end of Trevannion's Island and stood to the southward

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close hauled. At noon the latitude observed was 10° 40′ S., at which time the opening between the island and main land bore E.½S. five or six miles.

Before quitting Indenny, or Santa Cruz, I must give some account of the island and its productions. None of my people having penetrated into the interior, a detail of its different kinds of wood, its soil, &c. cannot be expected. It is not very high; but to the summit of its hills a thick forest covers it, except where the trees have been cleared away for cultivation. It abounds with hogs, fowls, wood-pigeons, doves, wild-ducks, herons, a kind of swallow, and the thrush. Fish is plentiful on the coast, and caught in a variety of ways. Its vegetable productions consist of cocoa-nuts, sugar-cane, bread-fruit, plantains of different kinds, yams of three or four pounds each, several sorts of potatoe, which the natives roast in hot embers, or bake in ovens similar to those already described; tara, which they cut in thin slices and dry in the sun, in which state it will keep for many months, and when roasted it eats very agreeably, something like biscuit. I met with the shaddock of the West-Indies, and a kind of almond, of which I saved a quantity for the inspection of gentlemen skilled in botany: the island also yields a species of nut common at Otaheite and the other South Sea Islands,

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known among the natives by the name of the *marare.*

Having described the several productions that come under my own immediate observation, I shall close the account by an extract from the Spaniard's narrative on the same subject:—"There were abundance of pine-cones as large as the head of a man, containing kernels of the size of Spanish almonds, which grew on a tree that had very few leaves, but those large; a fruit which was thought to resemble a pippin and grew on large and high trees; another fruit, not so good as the one last-mentioned, resembling a pear; ginger in great quantity, growing spontaneously. There were trees of the American aloe (*arboles de Pita*); another tree, from the body of which the natives by incision obtained an oily liquor of good scent; fine rushes, and a plant which in Figueroa's account is called damahague, both of which were used for making lines and nets; the herb ocymum (*albahaca*), of strong scent; a great quantity of a small herb of tall growth, named xiquilite, from which was made a die of a deep azure colour; many flowers of fine colour without scent, and much other herbage of various kinds."

I saw none of the fruits described by the Spaniards, though I am pretty certain the natives brought me specimens of every sort of fruit in season; but this may be accounted for,

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as the Spaniards were here a month later in the season, when perhaps the fruits they mention ripened.

Both sides of La Graciosa's (or beautiful) Bay are thickly strewed with villages, consisting of from twenty to thirty houses, sufficiently capacious to accommodate forty or fifty persons each. There are also other houses in each village, with spiral roofs, devoted to religious purposes and the reception of strangers. I understood from the Tucopian, that the inland parts are as thickly inhabited as the coasts; that the people speak a different dialect, cultivate their ground exceedingly well, and keep their plantations clean and enclosed with fences of reeds to defend their crops from the ravages of the hogs. There is no paramount head authority on the island, every village having its separate chief, though in some instances one chief rules over four or five.

I did not find the people naked, as related by Labillardière, who perhaps mistook the thrift of the natives for habit; for I saw instances of individuals coming off to the ship naked, but that was only done to preserve their garments from being wetted, as their crazy wherries frequently upset. The few males who came alongside in a state of nudity, had, I observed, conformed to the Hebrew rite of circumcision.

The people ornament their heads with a red

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flower, somewhat resembling the dog-rose; they have also different kinds of strong-scented herbs placed under the bracelets on their arms, and a tuft of the same stuck into their girdle both before and behind. They always approached the ship singing songs like those sung by the Malabars in the moussoula boats at Madras.

During my stay among the islands I experienced no inconvenience from the heat of the weather, probably on account of the frequent showers of rain that tempered the excessive heat, and rendered the atmosphere less oppressive. These I ascribe to the high land under which we lay attracting the clouds. There were none of those exhalations arising from the forests here, which sometimes obscures the island of Mannicolo from view, and renders its climate so unwholesome. The range of the thermometer at noon was from 80° to 82°.

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CHAPTER V.

OCCURRENCES FROM QUEEN CHARLOTTE'S ISLAND TO NEW ZEALAND, AND AT THAT PLACE.

15th October 1827.—Moderate trades with gloomy weather. Latitude observed, 12° 24′ S., longitude 164° 28′ E. The only occurrence to-day was the addition of two more to the hospital list. Thermometer in shade 81°.

19*th*.—Fine trade weather. Supposing the ship not far distant from the Holy Shoals, I hauled to the eastward at 8 P.M. for the night.

Yesterday morning I was seized with the disease now raging on board, and have since been confined to my bed. All my efforts to counteract sickness by cleanliness and fumigation proved ineffectual.

Latitude at noon, 19° 55′ S., longitude by observation 159° 59′ E. At midnight stood to the southward.

20*th*.—Trade weather as usual. At 7½ A.M. a shoal was discovered from the ship bearing S.S.E. two or three miles: at 8 A.M. it bore per compass E.S.E. distant off two miles. This is the Minerva Shoals of Captain Bell, discovered in A.D. 1819. It may be a hundred and twenty fathoms long, lying north and south, and appeared very narrow, not more than three or

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four feet above the level of the sea, with the water breaking on it lightly.

The latitude observed at noon was 20° 51′ S, longitude 159° 12′ E. At this time the thermometer in the shade stood at 72°.

30*th.*—Fine trades. The sick still continued in a very bad state. The surgeon observed to me to-day, that he was apprehensive, if the ship returned within the Tropics towards Tucopia under the vertical rays of a scorching sun, the sickness on board would increase, and endanger the safety of the ship and the lives of all on board. As I considered it proper to attend to his suggestions, I desired him to address me officially on the subject. He replied, that he should consider himself as failing in the principal object for which he engaged in the service if he delayed doing so; and that he would have written to me already in his official capacity, but wished first to communicate with me verbally. I shortly after received the surgeon's certificate, as follows:

I, the undersigned, do hereby certify, that in my opinion this ship ought to proceed immediately to a port in New South Wales, or New Zealand, for the purpose of procuring refreshments for the sick now on board, as well as to give them an opportunity of recovering from the diseases under which they labour. I also certify that it is my opinion, if the ship should immediately proceed to the northward into warm weather towards Tucopia, that the diseases now raging on board cannot be got rid of, without running the risk of

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losing several lives, and by that means endangering the safety of the ship.

(Signed) John Griffiths, Surgeon.

On board the H.E.I.C. ship *Research*, at sea, the 30th of October 1827.

On receipt of such a document I considered myself bound to abide by the tenor of it, in order to avert the calamities which a neglect of the advice it contained might entail on all concerned.

There being now only one person on board in good health who was capable of navigating the ship, and he as liable to be attacked by disease as those in the surgeon's list, it became incumbent on me to lose no time in making for a port where my crew might recover and the ship refresh. But the enormous expense attendant on putting into a port at New South Wales deterred me from going there; and as the Bay of Islands in New Zealand lay in my track for the islands, in a climate more salubrious than New South Wales in summer, which was now setting in, and as I could obtain refreshments, fire-wood, and water in abundance, I determined on steering for that place, where, during the time I should be employed in recruiting my stores, the sick could be put ashore and recover sufficiently to allow of my proceeding for the islands to land my interpreters, and from thence pursue my voyage for Calcutta through the straits of Manilla.

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3d November.—Strong trades throughout the day: the wind blew from N. to N.W. the first part strong breezes with cloudy weather; the latter part, light airs with rain. Our run up to noon was 166 miles, on an 84° course S.E. I expected to have seen the Three Kings at 9 A.M., the well known islands situated to the north westward off Cape Maria Van Diemen on the coast of New Zealand. Their latitude by Captain Cook is 34° 12′ S., longitude 172° 12′ E.

Noon approached without discovering land, and on observing the latitude my disappointment was accounted for, the ship being set by a current twenty-five miles to the southward of the islands during the last twenty-four hours.

Throughout the afternoon and night I took advantage of every favourable shift of wind to get to the northward.

4th.—First and middle part of the day strong gales, with rain; towards noon the weather cleared up a little, but throughout the afternoon and night was exceedingly squally and unsettled. At 3 A.M. the wind shifted from N. to S.S.W., where it settled. I took advantage of this change and steered to the northward, shortening sail as necessary in the squalls. At 8 A.M. got sight of the Three Kings bearing S.E. by E., distance off six leagues. At 10, got sights for the chronometer, which brought forward to noon gave the longitude the same as Captain Cook's, *viz.*

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172° 12′ E., and the latitude 34° 10′ S. At noon the centre of the largest of the Kings bore per compass E. by S.½S. three miles. At 5 P.M. the weather cleared up a little, which gave us a view of the North Cape of New Zealand, bearing S.E. five or six leagues, and at 8 P.M. it bore S.E., distance two or three miles. I stood along the coast steering S.E. by E. the remainder of the night.

5th.—Fine weather, with wind from the southward: thermometer in the shade 64½°. At 5 A.M. it was clear daylight, our distance off shore being five or six miles: the extremes of the land in sight bore from N.N.W. to S.E. by E. At 6½ we passed close to the eastward of the most eastwardly of the Havalley Islands, and stood on for Point Pocock; and at 9 we hauled into the Bay of Islands.

In consequence of being exposed for the last two days, I had a return of my illness, and was obliged to quit the deck. Not having any person on board sufficiently acquainted with the port to undertake the pilotage of the ship to her anchorage, I ordered half-hour guns to be fired as a signal for a pilot, and at ½ past 5 P.M. one came on board. Soon afterward the captain of a whaler called the *Indian*, which was lying in the harbour bound for England, visited me. At 7 P.M. we anchored in six fathoms, with the village of Carroraricka bearing N.E.

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½ E., and distant from half to three-quarters of a mile.

The captain of the *Indian* was accompanied on his visit by Captain Duke, part-owner of a whaler, which had sailed six weeks before for the fishery off Tongataboo, but being ill he was not able to proceed on the voyage, and was now busily engaged erecting a dwelling-house on shore, close to the village off which we anchored. The daughter of king George undertakes the management of this gentleman's household affairs, her father affording him protection for his property, chiefly consisting of ships' stores.

There were several of our countrymen residing in the vicinity of the bay, employed as missionaries to instruct the natives; and although these gentlemen possessed numerous flocks and herds, they were too much occupied by their spiritual avocations to allow us to derive any benefit from them—too deeply immersed in the theoretical parts of christianity, to emerge into the ordinary practice of its most essential dictates, to succour the helpless and visit the sick. Most willingly would I have paid them any price for a daily supply of fresh meat for the use of the sick, but could not obtain it.

Captain Duke, from a feeling that did him honour, sent on board two fat wethers, six fowls, and a dozen of wine, observing, in allusion to our failure in meeting with such supplies from

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the saintly preachers of a doctrine they refused to practise, "that sinners could not expect to participate in the good things of this earth, which were reserved solely for the elect." This timely supply from the christian son of Neptune was of real service to us, considering that all my officers except one were sick and off duty, and the hospital list included an aggregate of twenty-two persons.

I inquired of Captain Duke if he entertained no apprehension for his personal safety whilst residing among the islanders, with so much property as he possessed. He replied that he did not now, but that on his first arrival, being very ill, and obliged to remain on shore for a few months to recover his health, he was then under some fear, and therefore applied by letter to the Missionaries for an asylum. They in reply excused themselves by saying he lived an immoral life, cohabiting with one of the native females. Now at New Zealand this sort of intercourse is not only lawful, but considered by their friends as highly honourable, and tantamount to marriage with us. In fact, these children of nature adhere to her primitive rules, which did not prescribe those ceremonies and rites since introduced. In a country that requires the performance of them, it is perfectly right and politic that they should be complied with; but it is unnecessary and absurd to insist on

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them among people, who consider the mutual consent of parties as sufficiently valid and binding.

Had Captain Duke applied to the Missionaries to be united to king George's daughter according to the christian rites of matrimony, he would have been denied; as they had explicitly declared, on two former applications of a similar nature, that they would not sanction by their consent any union of the kind between Europeans and *unchristian* females. The cases were those of two sawyers in their employ, who cohabited with native women, at which they were offended, and exhorted them frequently to dissolve the connection. This the men refused to do, and expressed their willingness to be lawfully married to the objects of their affection; but the Missionaries, notwithstanding their abhorrence of concubinage, positively refused thus to remedy the evil. They severely rebuked the Rev. Mr. Kendal for marrying a Mr. Tapsel, an officer of a South-sea whaler, to one of these women. This seems to spring from the doctrine, that marriage is a religious sacrament and not a civil contract.

6th.—To my surprise we had only one canoe alongside soon after daylight, whereas on former voyages I had generally about twenty or thirty each day. On inquiring into the cause, I learnt that this being the season for planting a species of potatoe called the *comulla*, all the natives

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residing about the bay were absent at their plantations in the interior.

The doctor recommended that the sick should be landed, if a proper place for their reception could be procured. Though ill, I went on shore for that purpose, and met with a man named Johnson, who resided here with his wife, a New Zealand woman, and two children. He informed me that he had completed a house for his own use, with the exception of doors and hinges, which I might take possession of, if I thought proper to fit up the doors and windows. I viewed the house, and finding that it would answer, engaged it.

Upon my return on board, the Marquis of Wyemattee, king Charley, Ellis Moyhanger, and Phelim O'Rourke, requested permission to quit the expedition, as I was going shortly to the white men's country, where their services would be no longer required. I of course complied; and am happy to bear testimony to their good behaviour and utility while on board, being continually on the alert, and watchful to guard us against surprise from other islanders.

At parting, I rewarded their services to the full extent of their wishes. The Marquis and Phelim O'Rourke were ill of the disease prevailing among the crew, and in a very weak condition. The Tucopian and Tongataboo interpreters were much affected at losing their

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New Zealand shipmates, and inquired when they should be relanded in their native islands. I told them that when the sick officers and seamen recovered, our ship would sail with them. They replied, "The sick will die, and no person be left to conduct the ship to our country; we shall then be left here, and if the New Zealanders do not eat us, we shall at least be compelled to remain in a land where there are no cocoa-nuts, yams, bananas, or sugar-canes." I desired them not to be down-hearted, assuring them that if I lived they should be conducted in safety to their respective homes, and if I died the ship would still be under orders to take them there. Some of them wept, saying if I died they should never get back, as the officers on board had never seen their country, and did not, like me, know the way thither.

I conversed with some of the officers on board to-day as to getting one of the whalers that might touch here to take the interpreters on board for a trifling sum, and land them as they passed their respective islands on the way to the fishery. To this arrangement the interpreters objected, saying that if they went in any other ship than the *Research*, the crews, being strangers to them, would not treat them well, and that perhaps the officers might put them ashore on some strange island, from whence they would have no opportunity of getting away.

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The Church of England Missionaries settled here had a small schooner at anchor in the bay, built out of the wreck of the *Brampton*, which was lost here in 1823. It therefore occurred to me that if I could procure her to proceed with the interpreters, it would save a considerable expense to the Bengal Government, and enable me to reach Calcutta three months sooner than if I were obliged to sail in the *Research* with them, after myself and crew should be sufficiently recovered to allow of our resuming the voyage. I communicated this idea to Captain Duke, adding that I intended to write to the head of the mission on the subject; but he told me I should not succeed, assigning as a reason, that formerly the schooner had to pay port charges, on entering Port Jackson from New Zealand, on which a complaint was made by the Directors of the Church Missionary Society to the Secretary for the Colonies in London, who sent out orders to New South Wales, prohibiting such exaction for the future upon the missionary schooner *Herald*, so long as she was engaged in carrying supplies for the mission; but that this prohibition was not to extend to her when she entered the mercantile service, in which event no distinction whatever was to be made between her and other vessels.

As Captain Duke formed his opinion on no other ground, I gave little weight to it, and

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wrote a letter on the subject to the Rev. Mr. Williams, formerly a lieutenant in the royal navy, and now actually on the half-pay list, who has the principal management in the direction of the English Church Missionary affairs here. In my letter I explained the particulars of our expedition, the present condition of my crew, and engagement to return the interpreters to their native island, with assurances of remuneration by the Bengal Government for the use of the schooner.

7th.—The day having a damp rainy appearance, the surgeon did not deem it safe to land the sick. The wind was from N.W. to N.N.W.; thermometer at 63½°.

I found the Otaheitan alluded to in a former part residing here, whom I despatched with my letter to Mr. Williams; and being entirely out of port wine, I applied to the missionaries for what they could spare for the use of the sick, promising to pay for the same, or to return an equal number of bottles to them from Port Jackson. They sent one dozen and a half, which was very acceptable in our present debilitated state.

8th.—The wind continued in the N.W., with rather a sudden vicissitude from heat to cold; thermometer at noon 71½° in the shade. We took advantage of the weather, and sent the sick on shore to the house engaged for them.

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9th.—The wind prevailed from the N.W. throughout this day. The poop deck being leaky, so as to admit the water upon our arms and bedding, I engaged two caulkers who resided on shore to make the necessary repair, and perform other jobs required on board. These men were part of the crew of the *Rosannah*, which was fitted out by a company in London to establish a factory in New Zealand, an account of the failure of which project has been noticed.

This afternoon, while sick on board, I received the following reply from the Rev. Mr. Williams to my letter of the 6th instant, dated Hakiangha, Thursday, November 8, 1827.

Sir:—Your letter of November 6th I have just received; but, from the nature of our situation here, it will be impossible to comply with your request respecting the *Herald*. There are two vessels here, which might wish to accept your offers; a brig commanded by Captain Kent, and also the little schooner which was built here. I remain, &c.

(Signed) HENRY WILLIAMS.

To Captain Peter Dillon.

The laconic style of this answer surprised and vexed me. Had the reverend lieutenant been endowed with a moderate share of humanity, he might have shewn it in his answer; for, though he thought proper to decline acceding to my request regarding the schooner, he might have qualified the refusal by expressions of regret at our ill state of health, and offered such assistance to re-establish it as was in his power. Had he

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excused himself under the pretext that the brethren might be short of provision before the return of the schooner, I would have removed the difficulty by supplying sufficient to guard against want or scarcity till the vessel's return; but in fact the vessel had arrived from Port Jackson only a few days before, deeply laden with provisions. Had he urged that the vessel not being his own, he could not take upon himself to risk her on the service for which I asked her, surely the Committee of the Church Missionary Society would not have been displeased at his performing an act of charity, by which they could sustain no loss, since they profess to exercise those Christian virtues of which charity is the mother. Nor could he urge the want of means; for they had from sixty to eighty head of choice black cattle, and a proportionate number of sheep, the original stock of which was bestowed upon them by the pious and indefatigable missionary of the south, the Rev. Samuel Marsden, a man who practices the virtues he preaches. Had the Directors of the Mission Establishment in London, or Mr. Marsden, been in the Bay of Islands at this juncture, twenty-two of their fellow-countrymen would not have been suffered to lie on the shores of New Zealand a prey to disease, destitute of solace, mental or bodily, and gasping for a little fresh meat or a bowl of nutritive broth.

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Now contrast the conduct of these enlightened professors of the reformed doctrines of christianity with the really christian conduct of the benighted ministers of the catholic religion at Lima. As soon as the news reaches these venerable *padres* of the arrival of a vessel, they repair on board, and with the benignity of habitual charity, inquire after the health of those on board. If any are sick, they immediately remove them to the hospitals, with which every convent is provided, and the utmost care and attention is paid till health be restored to the patient; or, should death be approaching to terminate his sufferings, his bed is watched with paternal anxiety, and spiritual consolation is administered to his departing soul. They will not accept any remuneration for their disinterested care, feeling themselves amply compensated by an approving conscience; nor do they inquire of what country or religion the invalid is, or whether he be a saint or a sinner: it is sufficient for them that he stands in need of aid, and therefore do they administer it.

10*th*.—Finding from the tenor of the reverend lieutenant's answer that I had nothing to expect from that quarter, I wrote a letter on the subject to Captain Kent.

On examining the dry provisions on board, I found there was not more than four or five weeks' allowance of biscuit remaining; I there-

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fore reduced the ration of that article, substituting flour in its stead.

13*th*.—Nothing remarkable occurred since the 10th instant till to-day, when at an early hour I was visited by Fingal, the Marquis of Wyemattee, who being aware of the sick and debilitated state in which he left the crew from a want of fresh provisions, brought me five large hogs, some of which weighed 168lbs. when killed and clean, and nearly a thousand pounds of potatoes. In return for his very seasonable present, I sent him a half-barrel of gunpowder, which however he refused to accept, till I insisted upon it, and then he received it rather in compliance with my commands than as a remuneration.

Contrast, reader, the generous, sympathizing, and disinterested conduct of this heathen, with the unfeeling selfishness of the saintly preachers who undertake to convert him from the error of his ways! And if the conversion of the New Zealanders is to pervert their social worth in the same degree that these soi-disant apostles themselves exhibit in their own actions, I am persuaded that every genuine Christian will heartily rejoice with me at the failure of the mission in these regions.

About 10 A.M. I was visited by Shonghi, the powerful chief who visited England a few years ago, and had the honour to be introduced to,

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and kindly treated by his present majesty, to whom he promised that on his return to New Zealand he would abolish cannibalism. This however he has forgotten to do, as he has since aided in killing and eating many human beings. He arrived at the ship accompanied by his chiefs and family in two splendid war canoes. Though labouring under the effects of a wound that is fast sinking him to his grave, his frame being already reduced almost to a skeleton, his manner is still commanding. Ferocity and cunning twinkle in his piercing eyes, while his curling lip and short teeth proclaim him a genuine savage, but one in whom traits of intellect are manifested.

His wound is singular, a bullet having passed through his lungs, whence a hole appears upon his breast and back, through which latter the wind issues with a noise resembling in some degree that from the safety-valve of a steam engine; which, however, he himself makes a subject of merriment. Although he does not experience much pain, it is evident he cannot last long, and of this he seems fully aware, by the haste with which he is preparing to take the field in a few weeks, as generalissimo, to a general gathering of the chiefs of the north, the object of which is an attack on the river Thames.

I was the first person who took Shonghi from his native island, on the brig *Active* of Calcutta, to New South Wales, in July 1814: he remained

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in that colony for some time with the Reverend Mr. Marsden, and returned the same year to New Zealand. In January last he had a war with the Wangeroa people: the ferocious and treacherous tribe who cut off the ship *Boyde* in 1809, and eat several British seamen; who murdered the French navigator Marion du Fresné many years ago, and who seized another ship in 1824 called the *Mercury*, alluded to in a former part of this work. In the war with this perfidious tribe, in which he received his present wound, Shonghi totally exterminated them and took possession of their country, where he now resides.

While on board, Shonghi embraced Brian Boroo in the most tender manner; he expressed his regret in moving terms at being obliged to go to war with his father, who he said was a good man, but that Boo Marray's death must be revenged, and nothing less than blood for blood would do.

After a mutual interchange of New Zealand compliments, I presented Shonghi with a stand of arms, the most acceptable offering I could make him, for which he returned me many thanks, and regretted it was not in his power to make a suitable return, being so far from his own home and territories.

Just as he was about to leave, he pointed to his daughter, an interesting girl about thirteen,

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who was sitting upon the hammock rail with a cloth in her hand, staying the issue in her father's back. He whispered to me that he was anxious I should become his son-in-law, as he had not long to live, and wished to see her settled before his death: that when the other tribes heard he was no more, they would fall upon his offspring and friends in revenge for the many victories he had obtained over them; and concluded by saying he could never rest till he knew that his daughter was protected, for that she was a good girl. I pitied the forlorn state of the poor girl, but excused myself from becoming her protector, telling him in a jocular way that he was but jesting, and calculated upon his approaching end with too much haste, and adding, "I shall certainly see you again before you die."

If I had belonged to this mission, and been single, I would have embraced with joy so advantageous and honourable an alliance. And here let me observe, that I consider it highly impolitic in the missionaries who are bachelors not to chuse wives from among the native females: as many advantages, both personal and as regards their conversion, would result from such marriages. The offspring of these men being instructed in the various trades of their fathers, would become good tailors, shoemakers, carpenters, curriers, &c., and these again intermarrying among the aborigines, would gradually spread,

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not only the doctrines of christianity which they received from their parents, but also civilized habits and useful handicrafts. The creoles inheriting their ancestral estates on the mother's side, would also succeed to their country's honours, which in due succession would devolve on them, and thus, in course of time, would a civilized nobility spring up, who could not fail of giving a tone to the habits of thinking and acting among their dependants, while the missionaries should aid, by precept and example, to establish civilization and christianity at one and the same time: for let theorists advance what absurd propositions they may, arts and civilization must precede, and not follow the establishment of christianity.*

The plan I propose of intermarriages between the aboriginal females of noble birth and missionary mechanics, would very soon effect the objects in view of civilization and conversion; for which reason I would suggest to those who have the appointment, to send out bachelors for

* The mission sends out mechanics to instruct the natives in handicrafts; but at present the persons sent out for this purpose assume the title of the *Reverend Mr. So and So*, and consider it quite derogatory to their cloth to condescend actually to handle the sledge-hammer, the awl, the needle, the rope-winch, &c. Thus is the public imposed on by these sanctified mechanics, whom it intended not to act as clergy, but to use their hands as St. Paul did before them, and actually work as blacksmiths, carpenters, shoemakers, tailors, rope-makers, or even tent-makers, like the holy apostle above named of whom they pretend to be the followers.

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the future as teachers, with a perfect understanding that they are to take unto themselves, as soon as possible after their arrival, wives from among the daughters of the land they are to live in.

14*th*.—The wind at short intervals blew from all parts of the compass, accompanied with fair weather. Thermometer in the shade at noon 66°.

In answer to my letter to Captain Kent of the brig *Governor McQuarie*, I received a letter from him, offering to freight her at £2 per ton per month, or the sum of £600 for landing our interpreters at Tongataboo and Tucopia. I appointed him to meet me at eight o'clock next day on the subject.

15*th*.—The winds light and variable, with fine weather: thermometer in the shade at noon 66°.

Eight o'clock came without Captain Kent making his appearance as by appointment. At 10 A.M. M. Chaigneau and Mr. Russell went on shore for a short walk, to try the effect of a change of air, as they were both very weak and sickly. At noon Captain Kent came on board, but as the two other members of the council were on shore I could not proceed to business till their arrival, therefore Captain Kent took his leave, promising to meet me on board at 2 P.M.

Rathea and the Tongataboo interpreters on seeing Captain Kent, inquired of me who that white chief was, and in reply I made them ac-

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quainted with his name, and the projected arrangements for conveying them to their native islands. They insisted on being landed by myself: but I told them I had no men now to weigh the anchor, they being all sick as well as myself; that I must die if I attempted to go into a warm climate, in which event no person would be left to look at the sun, and then they could not find their way home; and that after all the provisions were exhausted they could not get any thing to eat and drink, and must of necessity also die. This home argument reconciled them; but they begged that, if I did not accompany them my brother would (for so they believed Mr. Russell to be), otherwise that the strange white chief and his people might ill-treat and land them on some desolate country, from whence they would not be able to escape to their friends and native country: "He will then," continued they, "tell you that he took us home, and in payment for his trouble will receive from you his beads, *tokees*, and muskets." I explained to them that I would give him none of those things; but a great deal of money, which he preferred to *tokees*. They expressed surprise at his stupidity in preferring money, which he could neither eat, drink, nor wear, to beads, *tokees*, and other treasures, which far exceeded money in real worth.

Their request to have Mr. Russell with them

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in the ship that was to convey them home I considered only reasonable, and communicated their wish to that gentleman, who though extremely ill, consented, if he recovered sufficiently, to proceed with the *Governor Macquarie*, expressing his opinion that, as a prudential caution against malignant insinuations, an officer of the expedition should embark, and see the interpreters safely landed, and the charter-party in every respect faithfully complied with.

At 3 P.M. all were assembled on board to proceed in the consultation on Captain Kent's proposals, when I was suddenly seized with a cold fit of ague, and compelled to retire to bed.

16*th*.—This morning a full council was held upon the subject of Captain Kent's demands for chartering or freighting the brig *Governor Macquarie*, when the following resolutions were passed:

We, the undersigned, do hereby certify, that Captain Dillon has this day submitted the following proposals for our opinion and advice, as to the steps proper to be taken in the present critical situation of the expedition under his command. He has produced to us the surgeon's certificate of the expedition, as to the danger that would result from the ship proceeding into a tropical climate while the malady which is now raging on board continues. He has clearly pointed out to us the enormous expense that would attend the ship proceeding to the islands in the Pacific for the purpose of landing the interpreters, besides the detention that would arise, and the risk the ship would run of being lost, with so many valuable relics on board.—He has also stated that

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the ship *Research* was victualled for forty-four weeks when she sailed on the present expedition, and that there have now elapsed nearly forty-six weeks, which would leave remaining on board a very scanty supply for the ship to proceed with to a civilized port, where a fresh supply might be procured. Captain Dillon has also informed us, that Captain Kent, the commander of a New South Wales vessel called the *Governor Macquarie*, now lying at anchor in a harbour distant thirty-five miles from here, has offered to convey the interpreters to their respective islands for the sum of five hundred pounds sterling.—Having maturely considered the above statements of Captain Dillon, the authenticity of which we are all well acquainted with, we have come to the following opinion: *viz.* that he ought to accept of Captain Kent's terms, for having the interpreters forwarded to their native country without delay, so that he may by that means proceed direct on his return to the ship's port of destination.

(Signed) E. CHAIGNEAU,
JOHN RUSSELL.

Of this opinion I approved, and it was consequently determined to carry it into effect.

17*th.*—I wrote a letter this morning to Capt. Kent, informing him of the resolutions adopted yesterday, and received another from him accepting of them.

In conversation to-day with Captain Kent, he informed me that Hokianga was a bar-harbour, and that to enter or depart from it required a fair wind. He intended, he said, to set out for it this evening, and as soon as he reached his brig, drop down to the bar, there wait for a fair wind, and I might expect his arrival at this place in about ten days.

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The entrance of the harbour of Hokianga is situated on the west coast of New Zealand, south of Mount Campbell. On crossing the bar, ships enter a fine fresh-water river, navigable from the harbour's mouth eighty or ninety miles into the heart of the country, the banks all the way abounding with the finest spars for shipping.

19*th*.—The weather yesterday and to-day was exceedingly fine. Having recovered a little strength, I went on shore to see the sick, a few of whom had been sent on board last week sufficiently recovered for ship's duty; but after a little exertion they relapsed, and were now in as bad health as ever. I sent a messenger to Hokianga to procure some fresh provisions yesterday, with some potatoes, which were to be shipped on the *Macquarie* for me.

While on shore, king George, the chief of this place, earnestly entreated me to let Prince Brian Boroo, and Morgan McMurragh remain with him on my departure from New Zealand, saying that he would take the greatest care of them. I told him plainly that I would not leave them for him to knock their brains out and eat them. On hearing this blunt declaration he appeared offended, and piqued at the opinion I entertained of him. He said that Brian's father and he were particular friends, and an understanding existed between them with regard to the pro-

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jected campaign; that it had been privately settled that Brian's father, with his numerous troops, were to pass over to him, and this powerful coalition was to exterminate all the other tribes on the banks of the Thames. I was however too well aware of the wily disposition of South-Sea Indians to be duped, and related to Brian Boroo the specious story which had been contrived, to wheedle him from under my protection. He thanked me for the regard I manifested for his safety, and concurred with me in my opinion as to king George's intentions.

27th.—Nothing remarkable occurred here since the 19th instant, except the arrival of a small schooner belonging to Port Jackson called the *Enterprize*, carrying four men, and employed trading with the natives for flax.

December 3d.—Rathea the Tucopian was ill and very low-spirited, in consequence of his long absence from his native country. I tried all I could to divert his melancholy, but to no purpose. Last week, in order to amuse him, I went about nine miles up the river Kavakava, where we landed in a charming country, well cultivated and thickly inhabited; but the greater part of the inhabitants were ill of the catarrh or influenza, which they ascribed to the arrival of our ship with so many sick on board.

The brig *Governor Macquarie* arrived in har-

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bour this afternoon: her commander promised me to be ready for sea on the 9th; and I informed him that, in justice to my honourable employers, I should be under the necessity of charging him demurrage for each day he delayed beyond it.

On the brig's arrival, I pointed her out to Rathea and the other interpreters, as the vessel which was to convey them home; when poor Rathea observed that it was too late, for he had but a few days to live. I cheered him up, desiring him to eat with a good appetite and be of good heart, for he had nothing to fear; but his reply was, "Had I cocoa-nuts, bread-fruit, bannanas, &c. which I have been accustomed to, I might once more see Tucopia; but as it is, I cannot live."

7th.—Shortly after daylight Rathea departed this life, much regretted by every one on board. He died chiefly of a broken heart, occasioned by protracted absence from his native country, and having no person to associate with, nor any one who sufficiently understood his language to converse with. Martin Bushart never took the least notice of him, and instead of paying the last tribute of respect to an old friend, remained on board during his interment. At 10 A.M. I sent the corpse on shore for burial, and fired three guns.

8th.— I learnt this morning that king George

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was highly indignant at Brian Boroo being about to proceed for the Thames on the *Macquarie*. His majesty considered it unjust that supplies of arms and ammunition should be sent to his enemies, and threatened destruction to such of the *Research's* people as remained behind at the Bay of Islands, should he be defeated in his expedition against the Thames River tribe. As he was very insolent to Captain Duke and the surgeon of the *Research* on the occasion, I deemed it prudent to have the sick embarked. He endeavoured by every means in his power to dissuade Captain Kent from proceeding on the voyage, and this finesse to prevent Brian's people at the Thames from having the benefit of his presence and resources, sufficiently explained king George's intentions in begging me to confide the prince and his friend Morgan to his kind protection.

I sent on board the brig six weeks' full ration for Mr. Russell and the interpreters, and likewise furnished him with his instructions for sea, and a copy of Captain Kent's, together with a duplicate of the charter-party.

9th.—Toward noon the interpreters embarked their baggage and presents on board the *Macquarie*, to each of whom I assigned his bed place; but the weather being unsettled and squally, Captain Kent did not wish to sail. Not wishing the six weeks' rations shipped for sea

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use, to be broken upon before the brig sailed, I took the interpreters on board the *Research*, to draw their maintenance till the *Macquarie's* anchor should be weighed.

10*th*.—I sent the end of a hawser on board the *Macquarie*, to enable her when the anchor was weighed to make sail from the *Research's* stern. The weather being very squally, Captain Kent deferred getting under weigh till it became settled.

11*th*.—At 8 A.M. the *Macquarie* made sail, and I went on board to accompany the interpreters as far as the harbour's mouth. On taking leave of these affectionate people, they evinced genuine grief at our separation. Brian Boroo and Morgan McMurragh in particular, lamented with tears that they were about to leave me probably for ever. These two men had been with me on board the *St. Patrick* on shore at Calcutta, and in this ship, for two years, during which they were faithful, and gratefully attached to me for the way in which I treated them.

Poor Martin Bushart also was much affected at leaving me, though he was determined on returning to Tucopia, there to end his days in retirement from worldly affairs. M. Chaigneau, the surgeon of the ship, and myself, did all we could to dissuade him, but to no purpose. He assigned as his reason for thus secluding himself, that he was much addicted to ardent

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spirits, which he had not a constitution to bear up against, yet could not refrain from, when they were to be procured. That as he was getting old, and unable to work for his livelihood, he would only be a burden to society, and that all he wanted in this world was lodging and food for himself and wife, which he would never be deficient of in his adopted country. I desired him to lay aside his fears, for if he would remain with me, he should not feel want so long as I owned a shilling; assuring him that the melancholy associations of fortune which united us on the bloody 7th September 1813 were not yet obliterated from my memory, nor could be: that I should to my latest breath remember the perilous situation in which he, Wilson, and myself, were placed at the Feejees.

As he still resolutely persisted, I no longer opposed his inclination. Before parting, however, he said that he had one favour to ask of me, which was, to cause Captain Kent to remove the four Europeans from Tucopia, whom I found there at the time I took Stewart off. I replied, that having no authority to coerce free British subjects, such as these men represented themselves, I could not delegate any to Captain Kent; but that I would request him to persuade them to leave the islands, which, if their statement was true, was the utmost either he or I dared to do. He replied, that their whole story

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was a fabrication, for Stewart, whom I had left at Indenny, had communicated to him the true circumstances that led them to Tucopia, which at my request he related as follows.

" Stewart had formerly been mate of a ship, and having forged a trifling order on the owners, was transported for the offence to Van Diemen's Land. Here he, with ten others, piratically cut a small sloop out of the river Derwent belonging to a Captain Harris Walker, and escaped in her to sea. The first land they sighted after quitting Van Diemen's Land was Howe's Island, where they, about one hundred leagues from the coast of New Holland, hauled the vessel ashore, and commenced curing a quantity of fish and birds, with which the coast and island abounded, as a sea stock. They had a large pot on board, which served to prepare salt with from the sea-water, and having thus laid in a supply, they sailed from Lord Howe's Island, with intent to make the Sandwich Islands. They kept at sea till their provisions were nearly exhausted, when the nearest land to them being Erronam, one of the New Hebrides, they steered for it. Upon making Erronam one of their party landed with some old iron hoops, to barter among the natives for refreshments; but these attempting to board the sloop soon after, they were obliged to push off without their shipmate, not having any arms on

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board to repel the islanders with but an old musket without a lock. Distressed for provisions, and unable to procure any, they made the best of their way for Walpole Island, which they at length reached, and procured some cocoa-nuts, birds, and fish. Here they determined to put back to Howe's Island for further supplies, but four of their number preferred remaining behind, rather than tempt fresh dangers, and undergo a series of new privations, on a route that did not seem to terminate in any given point. The remaining six set sail from Walpole Island, and got as far as the Isle of Pines, close to New Caledonia, where they put in to procure water, not expecting to find it inhabited; but they were quickly undeceived, by a body of natives rushing from the woods and attacking them. Fortunately they had taken the precaution to load the old musket and furnish themselves with a firebrand, by which means they discharged it among the islanders, who retreated with the utmost precipitation, and thus afforded them an opportunity of escaping After much toil and many perils they succeeded in reaching Howe's Island once more, where they recruited their water and provisions, and again set sail for the Sandwich Islands; but contrary winds impeded their passage, and being thus baffled a second time, they resolved to steer for the Friendly Islands. The

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first they sighted was some uninhabited islands close to Namooca, where they found abundance of cocoa-nuts, fish, and some turtle. Here by some accident they upset their vessel, but succeeded in righting her again. After getting all ready for sea they resolved to touch at Namooca, and if possible procure some yams, and then make their way to the island of Timor; with this view one of their party landed, furnished with a solitary axe; but there being no Indians on the beach, he ventured into the interior, from whence not returning after a lapse of several hours, his comrades sailed away, concluding he had fallen a victim to the savages. They were now supplied with a pretty good stock of cocoa-nuts, and while endeavouring to make Timor they reached Tucopia. On approaching that island they were boarded by the lascar, who to their great joy greeted them in English, informing them that the people of Tucopia were hospitable and kind to strangers: Stewart and his party, tired of an uninterrupted series of hardships and hair-breadth escapes, determined therefore on making that place the goal of their rambles. On quitting their boat the natives destroyed it, in order to come at the iron-work, but offered no personal violence to the crew, who handed over all their valuables to the lascar for greater safety, consisting of an old silver watch and a few dollars, which how-

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ever he never returned, either mistaking the deposit for a gift in recompense for his friendly intervention with the natives, or excusing himself by alleging that they had been stolen from him by the islanders."

This statement is very probable. A Captain Walker at Van Diemen's Land told me in May last, that he lost a sloop in the way above described, and requested me, if I fell in with it at New Zealand, to seize her for him; and on the day we arrived off Tucopia the lascar came on board, and offered to dispose of an old silver watch and ten or twelve Spanish dollars, which I refused to purchase, but think some person on board did.

Before hearing this account from Bushart, I had been told by the surgeon of the ship, that the boatswain informed him Stewart said he had escaped from Van Diemen's Land in the way Bushart related: but regarded the story as improbable, not supposing any man so weak as to convict himself of piracy. However, it was now too late for me to take any steps in the matter, Stewart having left the ship at Indenny: but I made Captain Kent acquainted with the circumstances, who promised to take the pirates from Tucopia to New Zealand, and from thence, if possible, remove them to Port Jackson.

The brig had no sooner cleared the harbour, than the gale became so violent that I expected

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she would lose her sails, which were very old. The first and middle parts of this day the wind was moderate from the westward: but toward noon it blew a perfect gale, when we had to wear out forty-five fathoms of cable, and send down the royal and top-gallant yards.

On returning to the *Research* I found two chiefs lamenting grievously on the following account. When the *Research* arrived in this port on the 1st of July last, a chief, the nephew of the deceased Boo Marray, named Ethaey, demanded me to deliver up Brian Boroo to the Bay of Island tribes, to be dealt with according to the New Zealand laws of war, which I refused. The crafty Ethaey then formed the following plan to decoy him. During Brian's absence at Calcutta, Ethaey's party had captured and enslaved one of his intended brides; and relying on the charm of a woman's persuasion, her owner despatched her on board with instructions to entice him ashore; but the girl loved Brian too tenderly to be guilty of such treachery, and instead of fulfilling her master's orders, informed him of the plot laid against his life. They lived together until the ship was on the point of sailing, when Brian ransomed her by presents to her lords, which they accepted, and she then became his lawful wife according to the customs of the country, which regard the dilatory process of calling in church, applying for

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and taking out licences, &c. as impolitic and unnecessary, since even Malthus himself would not have any apprehension of the principle of increase, where such an outlet exists for surplus population in the *army* and the *oven.*

Notwithstanding the ransom, however, Madam Shelah Boroo was detained by her faithless captors from the arms of her legitimate husband, till on my return to the Bay of Islands the 5th ultimo, Brian inquired for her, and she came on board next day, and resided with her loving and faithful husband as became a dutiful wife. This morning the lady went on board the brig with her husband, and accompanied by a number of other females, who went to take leave of their friends, it being expected that she would return with these ladies in some of the canoes or boats. But in vain did the chiefs exercise their patience looking out for her; canoe after canoe arrived from the brig, till at length the last boat put off without her, when expectation gave way to despair, and they set up a howl like wolves bereft of their prey.

Ethaey represented to me that Shelah being his brother's slave, I was in justice bound to make him reparation, as the people belonging to my tribe had deprived him of her services. I asked why they cried so bitterly for the loss of one slave, when they had so many to replace her: they replied, "Would you not cry if you

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lost the handsomest woman in your country?" I said, perhaps I might; but added, addressing myself to Ethaey, "Why do you cry? you have lost no woman."—"Oh," rejoined he, "I cry to keep my brother company; and if all our tribe were here, they would cry as well, for it is shameful to see a man lamenting alone." Seeing however that what was done could not be undone, he cast about to turn it to his brother's advantage, and observed that if I would give him my double-barrelled gun, it might dry up his tears and reconcile him to the loss.

I told him that my violent illness had injured my faculty of hearing; he then roared with a stentorian voice, "Give your double-barrelled gun to the man." But alas I continued as deaf as ever, my malady had so effectually deprived me of the power of hearing or understanding such harsh sounds. The chiefs, therefore, were fain to take breakfast, and we parted, they declaring however as they went, that should the brig return she would be surrounded by five thousand armed men, who would take possession of her, and destroy all on board. This they might have easily effected as the *Macquarie* had no guns, and her crew only consisted of twelve or fourteen persons, besides the interpreters and Mr. Russell.

The day was so boisterous, that I was apprehensive the brig's sails which were but indifferent

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would split, and she be compelled to put back: I therefore determined not to sail till the 13th; it blowing a gale and the wind unfavourable to steer for New South Wales, where I had to go for the purpose of procuring provisions and nourishment for the sick.

While in my cabin this afternoon, I was alarmed by hearing some persons in the water vociferating in the New Zealand tongue, "Send us a boat! send us a boat!" On looking out of the window, I beheld my old friend the Marquis of Wyemattee, with several of his companions, buffeting the waves for their lives. I instantly sent two boats, and rescued them from the twofold danger of being drowned and devoured by sharks, which frequent this harbour in hundreds; and when on board, I supplied them with clothes while their mats were drying. Though the Marquis was very ill of the disease which afflicted him when he quitted the ship, he could not suffer me to sail without a parting visit, which he was in the act of doing in one of his war canoes, when it swamped alongside, the sea running very high. He informed me that his servants would arrive next morning and bring a quantity of new potatoes as a present for me, and hoped I would not depart without them. I told him that it was not my intention to sail for two days, at which he seemed much pleased.

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Perceiving this a fair opportunity to create a party in favour of my absent friends Brian Boroo and Morgan M'Murragh, I mentioned the business to the Marquis, and my fears respecting the *Macquarie*. He requested me not to be alarmed; that if the Boo Marray party could bring five thousand men into the field, his forces, joined with those of his brother-in-law Shonghi, were more numerous, and that he would not suffer his friends and shipmates to be injured by them. The Marquis then signified his desire to sleep on shore; and although I pressed him to remain on board, he refused, saying he was unwell, and the ship too cold for him: that he had since his arrival habituated himself to sleep opposite a good fire in a house, and could not therefore with safety dispense with the heat.

12*th*.—For about three-quarters of this day a tremendous gale blew from the south-west, which would have effectually prevented us from weighing anchor if I had been ready for sea. All hands employed getting the ship ready to sail next morning; it being my intention to touch at Port Jackson, as well for supplies as to leave some accounts there of the success the expedition met with, for the information of the Bengal Government, to guard against any casualty that might occur to the *Research* on her return to Bengal through Bass' Straits, the route I intended to adopt.

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The supplies I required were, biscuit, salt provisions, and groceries, having an abundance of rice and flour on board, which latter I laid in at Van Diemen's Land, knowing it to keep well and occupy but little space, being also preserved from rats and cock-roaches in iron-bound casks. But the flour, to prepare it for food, required more water than could be stowed on board or spared at sea, and was therefore of comparatively little use in its present state.

13th.—At 9¾ A.M. I got the ship under sail, and stood out from the Bay of Islands, with pleasant variable breezes and fine weather. At noon Cape Brett bore E. by N. distant seven miles.

My friend the Marquis of Wyemattee came alongside at daylight, and remained with his war-canoe till the ship cleared the harbour, when he bade us an affectionate farewell. His countryman Moyhanger gave up his intended voyage to Calcutta, and remained behind, desiring me to greet Doctor Savage in his name, and tell him that a cask of musket-balls and a double-barrelled gun would prove a most acceptable present.

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CHAPTER VI.

OCCURRENCES FROM NEW ZEALAND TO PORT JACKSON, AND AT THE LATTER PLACE.

Dec. 27, 1827.—AFTER quitting New Zealand the weather was moderate and fine, with a variety of winds.

Not being far from land, I shortened sail at 10 P.M. and stood with the ship's head to the eastward. I wished to sight land near Port Stevens, on account of the N.E. wind prevailing at this season; the current also setting at the rate of from two to three knots per hour to the southward during the months of December, January, February, and March. I have known a ship get within sight of Port Jackson heads from the southward in these months, and kept out of harbour fifteen days by the current setting her down to Cape Howe.

28*th*.—At 1 A.M. we set all sail, and stood to the westward. At 4½ the coast of New South Wales was visible from the deck, bearing due west six or seven leagues. About 7 the wind came from the south-west, and we steered in towards Cape Hawke; and at 9 tacked to the south-eastward, when we were distant from the shore two or three leagues, with the land of Port Stevens in sight to the southward. The

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latitude observed at noon was 32° 25′ S.; our distance off shore might be about 15 miles. At 3 P.M. a light sea-breeze sprung up, of which we took advantage, and stood alongshore to the south-west, with all sails set.

29th.—The winds mostly from the south-eastward. At daylight the coast was in sight to the westward, but so obscured by mists as to prevent me from distinguishing what part. At 8 A.M. a strange sail appeared from the north-eastward. At 11 A.M. the clouds dispersed, when Port Jackson light-house appeared in view from the deck to windward of the ship; all hands were therefore employed working to windward. At 8 P.M. Port Jackson light-house bore S.W. by S. four or five miles; tacked as necessary; fired guns occasionally, and shewed lights as a signal for a pilot. At 9½ P.M. stood in for the harbour; but just as we got between the heads a smart squall with rain came on; we heard some noise afloat, but could not distinguish a boat. I, however, hove the ship to for a short time, when one was seen approaching us, which proved to be a pilot-boat. The pilot came on board, and soon anchored the ship within the heads in Watson's Bay, our soundings being seven fathoms. I divided the crew into quarter watches, to guard against surprise from the convicts, who of late years have succeeded in cutting out several vessels.

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Watson's Bay is distant from the town seven miles. My reasons for bringing up here were to be free from the bustle of business, that the ship's duty might be persevered in uninterruptedly; and also that the crew, several of whom were still sick, might have the benefit of fresh air ashore in this secluded place, instead of being surrounded by the priests of Bacchus, hundreds of whom infest the ordinary landing-places in town, prowling for the purses of simple mariners. These fellows, after a libation or two, in which they bear the sailors company, begin to inquire into the particulars of the voyage, what treatment Jack met with from his captain, &c., and listen till some instance of punishment for neglect or disorderly conduct is related by the simple tar, when away they drag the simple son of Neptune to a neighbouring pettifogger, who on the merits of this pot-house narrative, determines whether the *cove's* case is a "prime" or "flat move."* He is then plentifully provided (if his case be hopeful) with the "oh be joyful" by the kind assertor of his wrongs, who instructs him in the manner he is to proceed to obtain redress and "cast the captain," and how to train his witnesses for the purpose. Should Jack succeed in recovering damages, or his pay and clothing

* I must be excused for introducing a sprinkling of that *fashionable dialect*, which is better understood here perhaps than any other language.

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(for by this time the fool has been induced to desert), then the affair is regarded "a regular flash move," and nothing remains to be done on the part of the minister of Bacchus and his friend the sea-lawyer, but to gull the misguided seaman out of his money and wearing apparel. In some cases they follow the dilatory process of allowing him a fifth of the value in adulterated rum: in others this tedious course is dispensed with. The poor dupe is made drunk once for all, then robbed of his cash, stripped of his clothes, and turned adrift. The most ordinary method, however, is to allow him an asylum till his money is spent and all his clothes made away with, when his friend the disinterested landlord, who promised to see him out of all his troubles, hints at the number of ships in harbour, and the necessity there is for Jack pushing his boat off. He then takes a parting glass with him, and thus turns the poor fellow out of doors, perhaps diseased, without a penny in his pocket or a second shirt to his back.

I had not been long at anchor when another pilot boarded us. He had piloted a vessel from Van Diemen's Land, the commander of which informed him that the French king's ship *Astrolabe* was at anchor in the river Derwent.

30th.—At daylight I set out for town, where I arrived at eight o'clock, and had an interview with Mr. Raymond, a gentleman connected with

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the Customs. I informed him that my business in this port was to procure a supply of provisions and refresh my crew, who were in ill health, and that I intended applying to the local government for a loan on account of the Bengal Government in order to defray the expense. He replied that he had occasion to wait on the governor that morning, and would mention the business to his excellency.

I learnt afterwards from Mr. Raymond, that the governor referred me to the colonial secretary; and that gentleman, on my applying to him, observed that when his Majesty's ships required supplies, it was usual for the purser to purchase the article in the market if he could, for which he negociated his bills on the home government; but if he failed, the colonial government advanced him the sum. He recommended me to adopt similar measures with regard to the Bengal Government, and that if I could not succeed, the local government in all probability would assist me.

31*st.*—I proceeded to business as soon as the merchants' offices were open, but found them all clamorous for discount. They pleaded the circumscribed trade with India and trifling remittances to Calcutta, yet were willing to oblige me at the moderate rate of ten per cent. However fair such a mode of transacting money matters might be considered at Port Jackson, it did

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not tally with my ideas. My bills were as good as those of any purser in the Navy, who, instead of being charged ten per cent., received a premium of three; I would not therefore close with the merchants, but determined to submit my case to the colonial secretary.

The harbour-master applied to me to bring the ship up into the port; to which I objected, for the reason already stated. He persisted, however, with warmth, and, to prevent misunderstanding, or his representing things to my prejudice, I consented. Had the ship remained where she was, pilotage fees alone would have been paid; but on being removed within the precincts of the harbour, he became entitled to two guineas. Now, considering the sickly state of my crew, would it not have been better to keep the ship out of the harbour, rather than bring her into it, and expose the town to the chance of contagion, for the sake of such a trifle?

1*st January*, 1828.—This being a holiday, I did not trouble the authorities with an account of my ill success with the merchants. I was given to understand, however, that little in the way of accommodation was to be expected from the governor.

4*th*.—Finding the missionary schooner here from New Zealand, I took the opportunity to send by her two dozen and a half of wine, in

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return for the one dozen and a half I had borrowed from the missionaries when at that place.

On the 2d instant I wrote to the colonial secretary, informing him of the difficulty I experienced in negociating my bills, and requesting him to submit my case to the governor, that he might order the necessary advances, to prevent the vessel being detained.

A gentleman, just arrived by the brig *Hind*, which left Hobart Town on the 29th ultimo, informed me that the French sloop of war *Astrolabe* was at anchor in the river when she sailed, and that the officers had been sumptuously entertained by the local authorities there. How different was the treatment I had experienced!

9th.—Having been very unwell, I was not able to go ashore the last three days. Yesterday one of the governor's people came on board, to ascertain what provisions and stores were required, and their value; and I found he was also instructed to examine the remains of the wrecks procured at Mannicolo. Not being able to attend him, I requested he would call on board to-day, when a list of the things required should be made out. This person was accompanied on board to-day by another gentleman, for whose inspection I directed all the articles from Mannicolo to be arranged; with which he expressed himself to be much gratified, and de-

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clared them to be such as to set all doubt at rest with respect to the nature of the discovery.

14*th.*—I received a letter last evening from the colonial secretary, informing me that the governor was pleased to allow me £500 in cash for my bills. This being inadequate to the ship's expenses, I supposed my real wants had been misrepresented by the person sent to report on them. I therefore wrote to the colonial secretary that the *Research*'s monthly expenses were between £1,000 and £1,200, that with the greatest economy I should require the former sum, and requested that the opinion of two respectable ship-owners might be taken as to the sum absolutely necessary to fit out the ship.

19*th.*—At 8 o'clock yesterday evening I received a letter from the colonial secretary, apprizing me that the treasurer had received instructions to advance me for my bills on the Bengal government, £1,000. I lost no time this morning in proceeding to the office: but so many forms had to be gone through that I was detained from 10 till 3 in the afternoon, when I received a check which I immediately placed in the hands of my agents, with directions to procure the necessary supplies with all despatch.

28*th.*—Being ready to sail last evening, I directed the pilot to come on board this morning.

Within the last fortnight the ship had been

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visited by a number of respectable and scientific persons to get a sight of the relics of the immortal la Pérouse's ships. Among the most distinguished were Sir M. Jamieson, the Rev. Mr. Marsden, and Colonel Lindsay, with most of the officers of his Majesty's 39th Regiment. I found much difficulty in retaining the piece of ornamented wood-work of the ship's stern: had it been cut up into small splinters, they would all have been carried off, so great was the avidity to obtain a portion. John Gonsalvo, the seaman who discovered this piece of wood, died last night of the disease with which nearly the whole of the European part of my crew were afflicted after quitting Mannicolo. He was the sixth individual who had died on board since leaving Bengal.

31*st.*—Having waited the arrival of Captain d'Urville several days, and understanding he sailed from Hobart's Town on the 3d instant, I concluded he had been induced by the governor and his party, from no friendly feeling towards me, to proceed direct to Tucopia, where of course he would meet with Bushart, and hear of my success; or should he touch at the Bay of Islands, he would there find the three seamen who were with me at Mannicolo, and assisted in recovering the relics. But it can scarcely be supposed a gentleman so expeperienced as the commander of the *Astrolabe*

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could expect to meet with me at New Zealand, if he calculated the period I reached there, and the time required to make the passage from Hobart's Town to that place, which at this season could not be performed in less than fifteen days. This would make the date of his arrival the 18th of January, including a lapse from the 5th of November of seventy-four days: an unconsionable delay that hardly any circumstances would have justified. Hence it might be feared Captain d'Urville's entertainers had taught their guest to avoid meeting M. Chaigneau and me, for reasons best known to themselves.

Feb. 1st.—At daylight began to heave up the anchor. At 10 A.M. a strong breeze set into the harbour from the north-eastward: we had to make several tacks, and at noon got clear to sea. Having determined to return to India by the passage through Bass's Straits, I shaped my course for Cape Howe. In passing out to sea I found the ship *Ephemina*, lately arrived from Canton, lying between the heads, in the very situation the *Research* was ordered to quit, under pretence that it was unsafe to leave vessels there on account of the desperate character of the convicts, who might cut them out and run away with them; also that it afforded opportunities for smuggling. Here a Chinese merchantman, the most likely to smuggle or be cut out, was trusted to lay, though the *Research*,

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a ship of war mounting sixteens guns, and carrying eighty men, was not considered safe. The harbour authorities knew we had nothing to smuggle from Tucopia; but that the *Ephemina* was from China, and might have a few chests of tea to get on shore!

Before clearing the heads, two seamen belonging to the ship requested their discharge, to which I consented, and landed them and their baggage at the pilot's station. One of them was a very good seaman: I was therefore sorry to part with him; but the state of his health from the Mannicolan fever was such as to render him unserviceable, and the surgeon was of opinion he ought to remain on shore for his recovery. I gave him the recommendation his good conduct merited. The other was an idle fellow, whose misconduct had compelled me to suspend him.

At 1½ P.M. the entrance to Botany Bay bore west from the ship, distant four miles. At 7 P.M. Hat Hill bore W.N.W. per compass, and the five islands W.½S. There were fine steady breezes throughout the night, with which I proceeded alongshore under all sail to the southward.

3d.—At 5 A.M. having got to the southward of Cape Howe, I steered to the south-westward for the entrance of Bass' Straits. The latitude at noon was 38° 58′ S., longitude 149° 30′ E.

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At 2 P.M. passed a cutter which was standing to the eastward. Towards midnight the weather became perfectly calm.

4th.—This day set in with eastwardly winds, cloudy weather, and light rains at intervals: towards midnight the wind increased to a tolerably strong gale. At 8½ A.M. the Sister Island at the entrance of Bass' Straits was in sight from the deck, bearing W.N.W. six or seven leagues. The wind was now fair, but the weather so cloudy as to endanger the safety of the ship if I attempted to run through the Straits; I therefore determined to hold to the wind on the starboard tack until the weather should clear up.

10th.—From the 4th instant we were employed working ship to windward, having gales from the eastward, with thick cloudy weather. The first part of this morning the winds were light and variable from the south-westward: at 8 A.M. the breezes settled in the east quarter. Shortly after daylight we had the Sister Islands in sight, bearing S. by E. At 5 A.M. Kent's Group was in sight from the deck, bearing W. by S. I had all sails set standing towards them. At 11 A.M. Kent's Group bore N. by W. two or three leagues: at noon, Judgment Rocks bore N.N.W. ¼ W. four miles.

At 4 P.M. Curtis's Islands bore N. ¾ W. six

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miles, at which time one of the Port Jackson vessels hove in sight, which had been despatched from Sydney a few days before I sailed, to withdraw from Western Port a small number of troops and convicts, sent there early in 1827 to establish a settlement, which project was now abandoned, the soil having been found unproductive.

The islands we passed this day are visited in the summer months yearly by boats' crews from Port Dalrymple in Van Diemen's Land, for the purpose of procuring seal-skins and birds' feathers. When the straits were first discovered, those islands abounded with seals, but such numbers of them have been since killed that they are now so scarce as barely to cover the expense of procuring them.

12th.—First and middle parts of the day we had moderate breezes, with fine weather throughout the day, and heavy dews at night. Latitude observed at noon, 39° 16′ S; longitude by chronometers, 142° 16′ 30″ E.

22d.—Nothing remarkable occurred since the 12th, until this morning at 1 A.M., at which time we crossed the equator. The latitude at noon was 0° 50′ N., longitude 87° 26′ E. Thermometer in the shade at noon stood at 87°. The wind for the last three days prevailed from the westward, with squally damp weather.

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At 8 A.M. yesterday, there was a ship in sight to leeward, steering S.S.E., distance off four miles: being to windward, I bore away, and made a signal to speak her, which was answered by the ship shewing French colours, but she did not shorten sail. This conduct was unkind, as I had altered my course ten points for the purpose of communicating with her. After an hour's lost time I resumed my course. I wished much to inform the commander of this ship, in case he were bound to Europe, of my safe arrival so near to Bengal, in the event of any accident happening to the *Research* before she reached her port of destination, that her success so far might be known as early as possible.

27th.—At 10 A.M. the man stationed at the masthead having espied a ship to the north-eastward, we bore way to speak her. At noon we found her to be the *Nandey* of Liverpool, Captain Ramsey, homeward-bound from Calcutta. I sent a boat on board to report my arrival in the Bay of Bengal. On the boat's return I learnt that the late Governor-General of India, Lord Amherst, had sailed for England on the 11th instant from Saugor, on board the ship of war *Herald.*

Captain Ramsey reported having met with a strong gale from the eastward a few days after leaving the pilot, by which the greater part of his live stock were killed, and a cask of lamp oil spilled. I sent him ten gallons of lamp oil, two

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pigs, and three geese. On the officer's return, he informed me that one of the *Nandey's* passengers stated that the people in Calcutta doubted the safety of the *Research*, and that their fears were increased by the malicious reports of Dr. Tytler, who had arrived there from New South Wales in October last. Captain Ramsey sent me a Bengal newspaper, containing an account of the late glorious battle of Navarino.

At 1 P.M. I pursued my course with all sail set to reach Calcutta as soon as possible, and dispel the erroneous conjectures of my friends. The weather throughout the day was rendered disagreeable by passing light squalls with rain at intervals.

April 3d.—At daylight the coast of Orissa was visible from the deck, bearing N.W.½W., distance off three leagues, at which time we struck soundings in twenty-seven fathoms, mud bottom. The latitude observed at noon was 18° 25′ N. The ship was then distant from the entrance of Chicacol river six leagues. We sounded and struck the bottom in thirty fathoms water. The wind throughout the forenoon was from the south-westward, blowing light unsteady breezes. The thermometer in the shade stood at 86°.

4th.—At noon the latitude was 19° 39′ N., at which time the well-known Jaggernaut Pagoda was in sight from the deck, bearing N. by E.¾ E. distance off ten miles. At two o'clock a brig

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was observed at anchor off the landing-place near to the above pagoda. At midnight we had strong land breezes, with heavy dews.

5th.—At 5½ A.M. we were near to Point Palmira, and observed one of the Bengal pilot brigs standing towards us. At 7½ we got a pilot from the brig, and immediately after stood to the north-eastward, with all sails set for the mouth of the River Hooghly. At 6½ P.M. we anchored in the eastern channel, the tide being against us, our distance from the floating light vessel was about two miles; here we set the anchor watch and retired to rest.

6th.—We weighed anchor at 4½ A.M., and at 6½ P.M. dropt anchor off Fulta in six and a half fathoms.

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CHAPTER VI.

ARRIVAL AT CALCUTTA AND OCCURRENCES THERE.

April 7, 1827.—Shortly after daylight we got under weigh with all sail set, and at 7 P.M. the anchor was let go at Coolybazar, a quarter of a mile from Fort William, the station for the Company's ships. On proceeding to town I received the distressing intelligence of the failure of the mercantile house to which my affairs were entrusted, and the complete loss of my ship, cargo, and other property, during my absence on this expedition. This event was heart-rending to me, being thereby once more left destitute, with a large family to provide for.

9*th*.—This morning I received instructions from the Marine Board to land all the French relics procured at Mannicolo and to deposit them in Government-house at Calcutta, for the inspection of the Governor-General in Council. This order I immediately complied with, and received an invitation to breakfast with his Excellency the following morning.

10*th*.—According to appointment I waited on the Governor-General at 9 o'clock, who received me with much affability and kindness. He was attended by a numerous train of civil and military officers, all of whom congratulated me on

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the successful termination of my expedition. After breakfast his Excellency and party inspected the various parts of the wreck, and were much gratified at perceiving that they had evidently belonged to la Pérouse's ship.

13*th*.—At 9 o'clock last night I received a letter from Sir James Colquhoun, one of the Governor-General's aide-de-camps, directing me to meet his Excellency and the French resident of Chandernagore next morning, and to spend the day at Barrackpore. I was also desired to bring with me the most interesting of the relics procured at Mannicolo. I proceeded accordingly to the Government-house, and selected such of the things as were most worthy of notice, which I shipped off for Barrackpore.

This place is the country residence of the Governor-General, and is situated on the same side of the river Hooghly with Calcutta, from whence it is about sixteen miles distant. It consists of a moderate-sized house situated on the river bank, surrounded by an extensive and delightful park, variegated with trees, shrubberies, lawns, gardens, and fish-ponds. There is also an extensive menagerie, containing several species of indigenous and exotic animals from all parts of the East.

14*th*.—The weather having been extremely hot for several days, I started in a gig for Barrackpore at five o'clock, and reached that place

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at seven. On my arrival I had quarters assigned to me in the visitor's house. I shortly after got the relics landed from the boat, and arranged them on a large table in the ball-room, where I met the French resident and another gentleman from Chandernagore, who appeared perfectly satisfied that those articles must have belonged to the French men of war lost in the South Seas; and a number of compliments were paid me by those gentlemen, for my exertions in recovering them.

15th.—At daylight this morning I started for Calcutta, and reached it at seven o'clock. Soon after I proceeded to the Government-house, and got the relics removed from it to the museum of the Asiatic Society, to be placed there for the inspection of the public, who were particularly anxious to examine them.

16th.—I this day received the following official communication through the Marine Board.

General Department, 10th April 1828.

Read and recorded, a letter from the Marine Board, dated 7th April, and its enclosures; and read again a letter from the Marine Board, dated the 24th December 1827, and its enclosures, recorded on the Proceedings of the 3d January 1828.

Resolution.—The Governor-General in Council having perused the above correspondence with the interest and attention which it is naturally calculated to excite, proceeded to record the following observations.

Much as it is to be lamented that Captain Dillon has not succeeded in discovering any of the officers or men belonging

to the expedition under the command of the Count de la Pérouse, the Governor-General in Council conceives that the result of Captain Dillon's proceedings has confirmed the information submitted by him to Government in 1826, on which the expedition was undertaken, and that it has established beyond a doubt the fact, that at least one of the ships was wrecked at the Mannicolo island at a period which, according to the information obtained from the native islanders, must nearly correspond with that of the loss of the *Boussole* and *Astrolabe*.

The articles which have been brought away from the island of Mannicolo by Captain Dillon, more particularly those which bear the stamp of the *fleur de lis*, understood to have been a distinguishing mark impressed on articles the property of the French crown, and as regards naval stores, to have been confined in its use exclusively to those furnished to king's ships, afford sufficiently strong ground to conclude that the vessels wrecked were French men of war, which every circumstance connected with their appearance, and the manner in which those articles have been found, coupled with the absence of any information as to the loss in the South Pacific Ocean of other vessels of war belonging to France, would seem reasonably to warrant the inference that either the *Boussole* or the *Astrolabe*, or both, were wrecked on the island of Mannicolo, and that Captain Dillon is entitled to the merit of having ascertained a point, which for so many years had been the object of interesting but unsuccessful inquiry.

But although it is impossible that the point above noticed can be conclusively ascertained, or placed beyond cavil in this country, the Governor-General in Council considers it to be particularly fortunate that, among the various relics which have been produced by Captain Dillon (and the recovery of each of which was formally attested on the spot by the officers of the vessel, and by Monsieur Chaigneau, who accompanied the expedition at the instance of the French authorities), there is one article of silver on which there is engraven

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a coat of arms sufficiently distinct to admit of identification on reference to authentic records in Europe, connected with armorial bearings of the ancient French nobility. It is possible also that the numbers on the brass guns may lead, on reference to the register of the Arsenal, at which the ships commanded by Count de la Pérouse were fitted out, to their identification as part of the equipment of those ships; and with such clues to inquiry in Europe, it can hardly fail to be clearly ascertained, whether the presumption upon which the island of Mannicolo is assigned as the place of shipwreck of the *Boussole* and the *Astrolabe* is correct or otherwise.

It appears therefore, in the judgment of the Governor-General in Council, to be highly desirable that the whole of the relics brought by Captain Dillon should be transmitted to Europe by an early opportunity, and a sense of the enterprizing conduct of Captain Dillon, as well as his ability to afford the French government such further information as they may require, naturally indicate him as the most proper person to be entrusted with the charge of them, should he (as is understood) be desirous of accompanying them. Until the necessary arrangement can be made for the transmission to the Honourable the Court of Directors of the articles in question in the manner above proposed, the Governor-General in Council resolves that they shall be deposited for inspection in the apartments of the Asiatic Society, who will be requested to direct their officers to receive charge of them. The plants brought on the *Research* have, it is understood, been already forwarded to the Botanic Garden.

It only remains to direct that the Marine Board will proceed to adjust all the accounts connected with the expedition, with a view to their being closed at the earliest practicable period. For this purpose the Marine Board will call on Captain Dillon to submit to them his log-book, and such other documents as they may consider it necessary to require, in order finally to adjust the accounts and wages of all connected with the expedition, including the claim of the late first officer of the

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Research to arrears of pay, which was submitted with the Board's letter under date the 24th December last, reporting their proceedings when finally closed for the information and orders of Government.

The crew of the *Research* are to be paid up and discharged, and the Marine Board will report to Government their sentiments as to the best mode of disposing of that vessel.

May 10th.—Having engaged a passage on board the *Mary Ann*, Captain O'Brien, I this morning got the relics packed up and shipped off on board that vessel in large chests, with a part of my baggage. The preceding day I received from Government the letter inserted below, approving of my intention to proceed to Europe, from which place I had been absent about two and twenty years.

To Captain P. Dillon.

Sir:—The Governor-General in Council entirely approves your intention of proceeding to England in the *Mary Anne*, which is on the point of sailing, but he cannot authorize any disbursement on the public account in order to provide you a passage.

The articles brought by you in the *Research* you will immediately get packed and shipped on board the *Mary Anne*, under the direction of the Marine Board. They will be consigned to the India-House, where, should you proceed in the vessel, you will be pleased to present yourself upon your arrival. You will receive from me a letter addressed to Mr. Dart, the secretary, through whom you will learn the determination of the Court of Directors as to the disposal of the articles.

It is the intention of the Governor-General in Council to recommend that you shall be permitted to convey to France such of the articles as it may be deemed expedient to send

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thither, for notification, by reference to the naval registers of the equipment of the Count de la Pérouse, and to the other sources of information which must be forthcoming in that country.

Council Chamber, I am, &c.
8th May 1828. (Signed) H. T. Prinsep,
Secretary to Government.

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CHAPTER VII.

VOYAGE TO EUROPE.—REMARKS ON THE TRADE WINDS.

15th.—I embarked on board a small steam-vessel named the *Fire-fly*, in the evening, and next morning M. Chaigneau and some other passengers joined us. At eight o'clock we steered down the river for the *Mary Anne*, and joined her off Fulta.

20th.—At 8 o'clock this evening being quite clear of all the dangers that environ the entrances to the river Hooghly, our pilot made a signal to one of the pilot brigs, which immediately sent a boat to take him out of the *Mary Anne*.

Ships proceeding from Bengal for Europe during the south-west monsoon generally beat to windward along the coast of Orissa, Golconda, and Coromandel, until they reach the fifteenth or sixteenth degree of north latitude; they then stand across the Bay of Bengal to the south-eastward with the wind at south-west, until they cross the line, where it is expected they will meet the south-east trade, with which they proceed to the W.S.W., and pass at no great distance from the south part of Madagascar. They generally sight the African coast near to Point Nothall, and proceed round the Cape of Good

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Hope to St. Helena, where they obtain fresh supplies of water, wood, poultry, &c., and after a few days' stay at this island proceed for Europe. This route is invariably adhered to by all commanders during the south-west monsoon in the Bay of Bengal, and is attended with great difficulty, such as ships getting dismasted, springing of leaks, being obliged to return with their cargoes damaged, and the hulls of the ships so much injured as to be condemned by the underwriters as unfit for further service; and they are in general six weeks getting to the line. This route ought therefore no longer to be adopted. The course which I have on two occasions pursued, first in A.D. 1819 on board the ship *St. Michael*, was as follows. I left the Bengal pilot on the 8th of July, touched at Prince of Wales's Island and Atcheen, and from Atcheen roads I was ten days to the line. On this voyage I remained at Penang five weeks, and arrived at Van Diemen's Land five days before the ship *Bombay*, which vessel left the Bengal pilot the same hour and day with myself, and was at sea all the time. On the 18th of July 1822 I left the Bengal pilot in command of the Brig *Calder*, bound to Van Diemen's Land. In fourteen days afterwards I sighted the islands and coast of Atcheen, where I stood off and on all night, and anchored in the roads next day. On this voyage I was nine days from Atcheen to the line, making

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the total number of days at sea from the pilot to the line twenty-three: whereas, if I had taken the usual route, by the western side of the Bay of Bengal, I should have been at least six weeks. I besides avoided the risk of being dismasted, or having my sails and rigging torn to pieces by continual beating to windward, in a tempestuous sea.

With the wind at west or south-west on leaving the pilot in May, June, July, and up to the 15th of August (from which points it is sure to blow in these months), I would recommend the commanders of all ships bound round the Cape of Good Hope, or to Van Diemen's Land or South America, to make a fair wind of it by standing on the starboard tack until they sight the Cocus or Preperous Islands, from which they will generally fetch the islands of Atcheen without making a tack. Then let them work close round the islands, not standing off from them more than four or five leagues to the westward at night, and into soundings in the day There is a current setting to the southward along the coast which will enable a ship to get to the southward of the head from forty to sixty miles, where the course of the south-west monsoon is impeded by the high land, and becomes what is termed by the natives the little or north-west monsoon, with which they navigate their prows to the southward, and out to the islands that front the coast.

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On both my voyages I found the weather fine near Atcheen: the monsoon here being so near the equator, was not nearly so severe as in the neighbourhood of the coast of Orissa, or at the sandheads of Bengal. After passing the latitude of the Andemans, I have always found the south-west monsoon moderate and fair. And another advantage in adopting this route is, that if a ship sails from the pilot with what may be termed a fair wind, there is no occasion to tack until you get to leeward of the Andemans; and if it be then necessary it is in smooth water, under the lee of these islands; so that by adopting this route, a ship which sails fair can cross the line from the time of leaving the Bengal pilot in twenty or twenty-three days at the most.

Not a year has passed since my first arrival in India but ships have been injured by making the passage in the south-west monsoon, along the coast of Orissa. Invariably some have returned damaged, and others were never heard of. On the contrary, I have not known one instance of serious injury having occurred to ships in making the passage to the east of the islands, although there is a considerable trade to the eastward by ships going at this season of the year to China, Penang, Malacca, Singapore, Batavia, Manilla, Atcheen, Bencoolen, and the pepper ports on the west coast of Sumatra.

I have hitherto omitted to mention, that early

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in June 1820, my ship, the *St. Michael*, sailed from the pilot up the east side of the bay, and out by the way of Atcheen, after touching at one of the Nicobar islands, where some hogs, poultry, and water were procured; and she made the passage to the line in twenty-seven days, under the command of my former chief mate, Mr. Marsh.

It was, I understand, the intention of the commander of the *Mary Anne*, to proceed by the old route, along the coast of Orissa. On reaching the line, therefore, I determined to notice what progress she had made on that passage, and not to trouble my readers with the uninteresting occurrences of a sea-voyage.

June 29th.—This day at noon the latitude observed was three miles south of the equator, and the longitude 93° east; so that we have been from the pilot to this place forty days. We were for ten days beating off the coast near Coringa, between latitude of 16° and 17° north, some days gaining a few miles, and other days losing. The commander finding it impossible to make headway along the coast to the southward, determined to try his luck in the middle of the bay.

The wind continued mostly from the southwest from the time we lost sight of the coast until we reached the third degree of north latitude, between which and the line we were de-

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tained nearly a week by light variable winds and calms. We are now in expectation of getting the south-east trade immediately, and by its assistance to make up for lost time.

The only aquatic animals which we saw since leaving the pilot, were occasionally some whales, porpoises, and now and then a few tropic birds.

July 13th.—Cloudy weather, with rain, for the most part since we crossed the line. The wind, extraordinary to relate, prevailed from the westward up to this date. The latitude, by account, was 10° 50′ S.; longitude, 87° 30′ E.; when the wind appeared to settle to the south-east-ward, which I suppose to be the commencement of the true trade.

In August 1822, I crossed the line, on or about the 22d of that month, and was accompanied with north-west and westwardly winds until I reached the ninth degree of south latitude. In September 1819, I crossed the line, bound to the south-eastward, and got the trades in 3° south latitude. Under these circumstances, I fear little can be said as to the steadiness of the trades in the Indian Ocean, between the equator and the 10° south latitude, at any season of the year.

22d.—At nine o'clock this morning the island of Roderigue was visible from the deck, bearing north about twenty miles. The geographical position assigned to this island in Horsburgh's

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Directory for 1817, is latitude 19° 41′ south, longitude 63° 10′ east.

26th.—This morning the wind shifted to the S.S.W., where it appeared to settle.

Aug. 6*th.*—On Friday last there was a strange sail in sight, visible from the mast-head, bearing N.N.E. At four o'clock in the afternoon of Saturday, the vessel came within hail, and proved to be the *Ontario* of Liverpool, from the Calcutta pilot on the 2d day of June last, twelve days later than ourselves.

7*th.*—This morning we had the coast of Africa in sight from the deck: its distance off was five or six leagues. At noon the first point of Natal bore west six or seven leagues. Our latitude at noon was 29° 50′ S., and longitude 29° 51′ E. The winds from the 27th ultimo up to this period were from the eastward.

The coast appears never to have been properly surveyed, as in the charts on board, soundings, &c. differ widely from what we have experienced. A ship running for this coast at night by the Nautical charts for 1812, might easily get on shore. Soundings are there laid down of eighty fathoms, at a distance of half a degree from the land. But when we sounded this morning with a hundred fathoms of line, there was no bottom, although we were not more than five or six leagues from the beach.

31*st.*—Nothing worth noticing occurred on

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board since my last remarks. For two days after passing the Cape of Good Hope we had the wind strong from the south-east; it then shifted to the north-west, where it continued for five or six days, and shifted round again to south-eastward.

This morning at daylight the island of St. Helena was in sight from the deck, at a distance of two leagues. Having made the lee-side of it, we had to stand round that way to James Town, where we anchored at 2 P.M. It was intimated to the passengers, that the ship was to sail next evening.

I have travelled a great deal, but never met with any thing half so sterile in appearance as the external view which St. Helena presents to the eye. The island of Cape Barren, in Bass' Straits, is a garden of Eden compared with this place. Its bleak and dismal aspect conveys something awful to the feelings of the spectators, especially to those who may be obliged by their duty to reside there for a length of time. I landed on the public wharf, and proceeded to a lodging-house situated in the corner of a small garden on the land-side of the governor's house. The bed-chamber assigned to me was that in which the Duke of Wellington had slept on his return from India, and the one in which the ex-Emperor Napoleon reposed the first night he landed on the isle of his captivity.

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Sept. 1*st.*—At daylight this morning I started, in company with a gentleman, for the tomb of the ex-Emperor, situated at the distance of two miles and a half from the town. On our way we passed the small farm, now known by the name of the Briars. The ground appeared not to have been cultivated for some years; there were no shrubs on it; and the small miserable dwelling and brewhouse were all falling to decay. There were six soldiers at work digging up the ground, which was covered with a thick turf. I inquired from my guide what they were going to plant there. He replied, the mulberry; as it was the intention of the Honourable Company to introduce the silk-worm into that part of the island which they had already in a flourishing state at Longwood. At half-past seven o'clock we reached the grave of the fallen Napoleon, where we found an old serjeant and private of invalids stationed to guard the tomb, who presented some of the party present with a few branches of the willow trees growing near to the small iron pallisading which surrounds the plain blocks of stone that cover his ashes.

From this spot we proceeded to Hutsgate, the former residence of the Count Bertrand and his family, which is distant from Longwood two miles and a half. On reaching Longwood we dismounted, and were conducted to the back of

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the ex-Emperor's late dwelling-house, which we entered by a back door, and found the rooms all thrown into one, which was used as a farmer's barn, containing a large quantity of oat straw, with numerous rats crossing to and fro. The bed-chamber was converted into a place to contain a threshing machine. In this dreary abode ended the life of confessedly one of the greatest men Europe ever produced. The only spot where I had seen any quantity of level land on my way was at this place; all the other parts of the island, which came within my view, were as barren as rock could well be.

We got back to town by 9 A. M. The roads on which we passed were good, but steep; far excelling any thing of the kind I saw in South America over similar precipices, and must have been the produce of great labour and exertion.

Six o'clock this evening was the time appointed for us to embark, and 9 P.M. the hour for sailing. My landlady sent in her bill. She treated my party with a good mess, considering the place, where provisions are so dear. For ladies or gentlemen, the rate of board and lodging is thirty shillings per day each: for children, fifteen shillings per day each; for servants the same: for a small one-horse carriage, half the size of a common gig, two pounds ten shillings per day; for a saddle-horse fifteen shillings.

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At 6 P.M. I embarked for the ship, and, on my way to the boat, observed every one of the lower order of people equipped with a tobacco-pipe. Smoking appears to be more practised here than at any other British settlement I have ever visited. Boys of twelve years were provided with their pipes.

At 11 P.M. we got under-weigh, and stood to the north-westward for England, having taken on board some sheep, biscuit, water, and potatoes. This last article was of the worst kind I had met with for some time; they were small, and so moist and clammy, that it would be difficult for the stomach of an ostrich to digest them.

14*th*.—Nothing very remarkable occurred after leaving St. Helena. We were accompanied by fine trade winds, and crossed the line the second time this night. The latitude observed at noon was 0°, twenty-seven miles S. and longitude 23° 30′ W. of Greenwich. One of our passengers, the Rev. Mr. Wilson, an assistant chaplain on the Bengal establishment, brought on board from St. Helena a dreadful bowel complaint, under which he had since been labouring, and his life was now despaired of by the medical gentlemen on board.

While lying at anchor in St. Helena roads, we received accounts of the English ship *North Star* having been plundered and scuttled by a

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pirate off the island of Ascension, on her way from Ceylon to London, in the month of February last, and that several of the crew of the *North Star* were murdered by these sea-robbers. The crew had been shut down in the forecastle, evidently for the purpose of being drowned, as the ship was sinking from the water pouring in where she was scuttled. However, they managed to get out of their confinement at night, and succeeded in stopping the leak after she had six feet water in the hold. The pirate was not visible at that time; the crew, with one of the mates, made sail, and succeeded in getting the ship safe to England. This report put us all on the alert on board the *Mary Anne*. Expecting we might meet with a similar fate, every sail to be seen was viewed with suspicion.

The pintado, or painted birds of the Cape, followed us for two days after leaving St. Helena. The day after we sailed I observed six of them about the ship; the day following the number was reduced to two; and the third day they all disappeared. I have on several voyages traced the course of these birds, and noted it in my journals, but never before found them so far to the northward of their usual station or cruising ground.

23d.—On Sunday morning last, at 7 A.M., the Rev. Isaac Wilson, the gentleman before mentioned, departed this life. He was a pious,

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liberal, well-informed man, perfectly qualified to discharge his clerical duties, and highly respected by all who knew him.

Yesterday morning, at 8 A.M., two strange vessels appeared in sight with all sail set, and seemed to sail very fast. On a nearer approach, we found the foremost vessel to be a schooner, with the flag of the United States of America hoisted; the other was a brig, painted black, and armed, with a pendant hoisted, and carrying the Buenos Ayres flag. At 12 o'clock they passed close astern of us. The brig appeared to gain on the schooner. At 1 P.M. the brig fired a gun from the starboard side (they were steering north, we were steering N.N.W.); and at half-past 1 P.M. the brig fired a second gun from her larboard bow, upon which the schooner hove to. The brig soon after passed close under her stern, and hove to, in which situation they continued until we lost sight of them at 5 P.M. Various were the opinions of those on board the *Mary Anne;* some supposing the brig to be a pirate who was employed plundering the schooner; others supposing her to be a Buenos Ayrian national vessel, which was examining the schooner for Brazilian goods. We mustered up all the arms we could on board, with a view of protecting our persons from insult, and determined to allow the pirate, if he was one, to take what he pleased out of

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the vessel, except the passengers and crew. There was no chance of our being able to resist, as we had no arms belonging to the ship, and but few men. Our latitude at noon was 9° 2′ N., longitude 25° 30′ W.

25th.—Shortly after daylight this morning, a strange sail hove in sight: at 2 P.M. she came close to us. We spoke her, and found her to be the ship *Cape Packet*, from New South Wales 120 days, bound to Liverpool. Her commander informed us, that the brig and schooner which we saw on the 22d boarded him, and that they were both privateers belonging to Buenos Ayres, bound to the West Indies, to cruize against the Spaniards. Our latitude at noon was 11° 25′ north, longitude 26° 40′ west.

Oct. 14th.—Nothing remarkable having occurred since the 25th ultimo, I have allowed the intervening days to pass unnoticed. We carried the eastwardly trade winds to 32° N., at which time the wind shifted to the N.E., N., and N.W., so as to prevent our passing to the northward of the Azores or Western Islands, as we intended to have done, with the wind from the N.W.; we steered to the north-eastward until daylight this morning, at which time we had the islands of Pico and Fayal in sight from the deck. The channel between them bore west. The wind being to the southward, with wet cloudy weather, we bore up north, and stood

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round the north point of Fayal. Near the west side of the point there were several pieces of ground enclosed, with a few dwelling-houses on them. Towards noon the wind blew too strong, with wet cloudy weather, to permit of our having any intercourse with the shore; we therefore shaped our course for England.

20th.—The wind continued fair from the time we left the Western Islands till Friday night last, at which time it died away, and has since been light and variable from the eastward. At daylight this morning we had three strange sail in sight; two of them were standing to the eastward, one of which shewed French colours: the third was standing to the westward, with all sail set. We steered for her, and on a near approach, found her to be the *Anne Romney* of London, out from Bristol five days, bound to the island of St. Thomas in the West-Indies. Being short of provisions, we hove to, and sent a boat on board of her at 11 A.M. with some dollars to purchase supplies. The boat returned at 1 P.M. with some salt provisions, flour, biscuit, and rum. We hoisted the boat up, and stood to the south-eastward, with the wind from east.

In consequence of having seen the following land birds on board the ship to-day, I had every reason to suppose they had been blown off either from the coast of Ireland or Spain; Cape Clear

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in the former being distant from us 460 miles, and Cape Finisterre on the latter coast being at the distance of 332 miles. The birds we saw and caught were a woodlark, a grey screech-owl, and three starlings. There were seven of the latter birds about the ship, who fed heartily on grains of rice, dead cock-roaches, and crumbs of bread. The three that were caught were set at liberty; they roosted on the rigging during the night, and no doubt continued by us until we sighted the land. I record this as a strange and rare instance of birds of this kind being found at so great a distance from the land; especially the owl, who is generally supposed to be a bird of short flight. The latitude at noon was 45° 12′ N., and longitude 16° 27′ E.

On the 25th of October we sighted the Start-point, and the next afternoon the passengers landed from the *Mary Anne* at Plymouth. I made the best of my way to London, where I arrived on the Wednesday morning following and delivered the letters entrusted to me from India at the East-India House. Shortly after I waited on his Excellency Prince Polignac, French ambassador at the court of London, and communicated to him my intention of proceeding immediately to Paris. His Excellency received me in the most gracious and flattering manner, and very kindly gave me a cabinet passport with letters of intro-

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duction to the Baron Hyde de Neuville, minister of marine at Paris.

On Saturday the 1st of November I accordingly set out for France, for the purpose of securing the copyright of my voyage, this being the only benefit I was likely to receive from an expedition that had cost me so much trouble, expense, and anxiety of mind. I got to Paris in the evening of the 3d, and presented myself at the Admiralty on the morning of the 4th, where I was most politely received by the chief secretary to the French minister of marine and colonies. The secretary requested me to call the next day at four o'clock: which I did, and had the honour of an interview with the minister, his Excellency Baron Hyde de Neuville. He received me kindly, and congratulated me on my success. I intimated to him the object of my visit to Paris, and received assurances that my request as to the copyright of my voyage would be attended to: he also informed me that on my return to Paris, which I intended shortly after to visit, that he had no doubt his most Christian Majesty would do what was proper towards me.

On the morning of the 9th November I returned to London, and had the honour of an interview next day with the Chairman of the Honourable Court of Directors for the Affairs of India. This gentleman informed me that the relics which I had procured at the island of

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Mannicolo should be transferred to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, who would make a communication regarding them to the French authorities here, and effect the necessary arrangement for their transmission to France. Things remained in this state until the 15th of January 1829, at which time a communication from his Excellency Prince Polignac, the French ambassador, was received at the India-House through the Foreign Office, returning thanks, in the name of his most Christian Majesty, to the Honourable East-India Company, for the humane and liberal exertions of their government abroad, which had led to the recovery of these relics, which the king would receive, with Captain Dillon, on their arrival in Paris.

On the 18th of January his Excellency Prince Polignac visited the East-India House by appointment, to inspect the relics previous to their embarcation, when he was politely received and attended by the honourable Deputy Chairman and several of the Directors, and after also viewing the Company's museum and other objects of curiosity, his Excellency partook of an elegant entertainment which had been prepared for the occasion.

The articles to be presented to his Majesty the King of France having been shipped on a steam-vessel, I proceeded with them for Calais on the 1st of February. I arrived at Paris on the 6th,

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and delivered them to the Baron Hyde de Neuville; who on taking charge of them informed me that they were to be placed in a cenotaph to be erected in a new museum, dedicated to the Dauphin, with an inscription describing their loss and recovery.

On the 22d of February I received a letter from his Excellency the Minister of Marine, informing me that his most Christian Majesty Charles the Tenth, as a mark of his royal approval of my services, was pleased to confer on me the order of knighthood, in the grade of Chevalier of the Legion of Honour, with a sufficient sum in cash to defray the expenses of my voyage to Europe, also an annuity of 4,000 francs per annum for my own life, and half that amount to my family in case they should survive me. I returned my most grateful thanks to this illustrious prince, for his generous condescension in thus noticing and approving of my services.

On Monday the 2d of March following I was taken to the French court by his Excellency the Minister of Marine, and had the honour of being presented to the King: who received me very graciously, and conversed with me in the English language, which he speaks fluently, on the subject of my voyage. He appeared to be perfectly well acquainted with the history of la Pérouse's expedition, and addressed several very judicious questions to me regarding the

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circumstances attending the loss of that celebrated navigator. With an anxiety creditable to his feelings, he inquired what was my opinion as to the probability of any of the crew being yet alive on the Solomon Islands? After an interview of half an hour I was allowed to retire, at which time this most amiable monarch made use of the following obliging expression, "Good bye, Captain Dillon: I thank you." I expressed my gratitude for his Majesty's consideration for myself and family, and withdrew.

While at Paris, I met several times with the Viscount Lesseps, who is the only person of the Count de la Pérouse's expedition now known to be alive. He was attached to the expedition for twenty-six months, and was landed at Kamschatka by the commander, for the purpose of conveying to France the charts, and accounts of the voyage, up to that period. This gentleman was between twenty-three and twenty-four years old when he joined the expedition: he is now sixty-four, and appears active, strong, and in good health. He has been for some years past honourably employed as consul-general for France to Portugal.

I was happy to find the Viscount still alive and in good health, after the innumerable difficulties he experienced, in performing one of the longest land journeys ever accomplished.

I acompanied this nobleman one day to the

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Admiralty for the purpose of viewing the relics procured by me at Mannicolo, which he examined minutely. The piece of board with the *fleur de lis* on it, he observed, had most probably once formed a part of the ornamental work of the *Boussole's* stern, on which the national arms of France were represented, as she was the only one of the ships bearing such an ornament. The silver sword-handle and silver spoon he also examined, and said that such swords were worn by the officers of the expedition, and that it was not unlikely the guard and spoon belonged to him, as he had left such articles on board the expedition, considering them burthensome on his long journey over snows, deserts, mountains, and through the wilds of Siberia. With regard to the brass guns, having looked at them attentively, he observed that the four largest were such as stood on the quarter-deck of both ships, and that the smallest gun was such as they had mounted in the long-boats when going on shore among the savages. On noticing the small mill-stone, he turned round suddenly and expressed his surprise, observing, "This is the best thing you have got: we had some of them mounted on the quarter-deck to grind our grain." It may be recollected by those who have read the account of la Pérouse's voyage, that it is said, "The mill-stones, when wrought by hand, were found not to answer well. Captain

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de Langle, of the *Astrolabe*, improved on them, and got them to work by sails on board his ship, somewhat similarly equipped to windmills on shore."

On my return from France to England, I received letters from Mr. Russell, the officer who sailed from New Zealand in charge of Martin Bushart and the other interpreters, informing me that he had landed them safely at their places of destination, and had himself arrived at Calcutta in August 1828, where he met with the welcome reception he justly merited, as the reward of his faithful services.—It also afforded me much pleasure to find from the Literary Gazette of the 12th of April 1828, that by the learning and research of Sir William Betham, Ulster king at arms for Ireland, the armorial bearings on the bottom of the silver candlestick found at Mannicolo, as formerly described, were traced to the noble French family of Collignon, and that consequently the article so marked most probably belonged to a scientific gentleman of that name who was attached to the *Boussole* in the botanical department.

Extract from the Literary Gazette, for April 12th 1828.

At length information has been received of the fate of the unfortunate navigator, which has so long been involved in doubt and obscurity.

Captain Dillon having heard that two large vessels had been wrecked on one of the islands of the group called the

Friendly or Navigator's Islands,* the Indian Government fitted out and dispatched a vessel called the *Research*, for the purpose of making every possible inquiry and investigation.

Mr. John Russell, an officer on board the *Research*, wrote to his uncle, Sir W. Betham, of Dublin, a letter, dated Nov. 7, 1827, which was received in Dublin on the 9th March 1828, of which the following is an extract:—

" *New Zealand, Nov.* 7, 1827.

" We have just arrived here after a voyage in search of la Pérouse, and I think we have been successful. Both his ships were wrecked the same night on a reef off the Mannicolo Island, which is situated in latitude 11 deg. 40 min. south, longitude 170 deg. east.† One ship sunk in deep water immediately after striking, and all on board perished; the other was thrown on the reef, and some of the crew escaped, who saved sufficient materials from the wreck to build a small vessel, in which, with the exception of two men who continued on the island, and those who were killed by the natives, they left the place about five months after their shipwreck; their ultimate fate is still unknown. Of the two men who remained, one quitted the island in a canoe, the other died about three years since. We have obtained clear proof that the ships wrecked were French, having found and secured many pieces of silver and copper stamped with the fleur-de-lis. We have also two bells, one having on it an inscription—BAZIN M'A FAIT; on the other are the royal arms of France, We have also found a part of a plated candlestick, on which is engraved a shield with the following arms:—Azure a saltire; in chief a mullet, and in base a crescent or. Supporters two lions rampant regardant. The shield is surmounted with a viscount's coronet, We

* It ought to have been stated " the Solomon Isles."

† The latitude of our anchorage at Mannicolo was 11° 41′ S., and the longitude 167° 5′ E.

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have searched all the neighbouring islands, to ascertain the fate of the small vessel and her crew, if perchance any of them might still exist, but without success."

Such is the statement of Mr. Russell, which, although very concise, in the absence of the official report, which will be sent to the Indian Government, so that some time must elapse before it reaches Europe, is very interesting and important.

The above-mentioned arms are those of M. de Colignon, botanist on board *la Boussole;* and as the crew of the ship which went down in deep water all perished, we may conclude that every article also went down with her: we may also take it for proven, that it was the *Boussole*, commanded by M. la Perouse himself, which was thrown on the ridge, as M. Colignon was attached to that ship.

A very mutilated and misprinted statement having appeared in the newspapers and in some of our contemporaries, we made application to Sir W. Betham, who has supplied us with the foregoing corrected statement.

But in order to put the point in a clear light, and shew that the fate of the intrepid and enterprizing la Perouse is at last, after the mystery and conjecture of forty years, no longer uncertain, we made a drawing of the arms, as described by Mr. Russell. On referring to a standard work of French heraldry,* we discovered that these were the arms of Colignon; and we also found, by consulting the published account of this unfortunate expedition, that Colignon was, as we have observed, the name of the naturalist in the *Boussole*. These facts afford conclusive evidence that the vessels whose wrecks have been traced could be no other than M. de la Pérouse's ships; and the *crescent or* in the base of the shield, the sign of affiliation, indicates that M. Colignon was a second son or branch of the noble family of that name. Our contemporaries in Paris will, no doubt, make further inquiries into this matter, which has so long excited the curiosity, and engaged the sympathy of Europe.

* Mercure Armorial, folio, Paris, 17th century.

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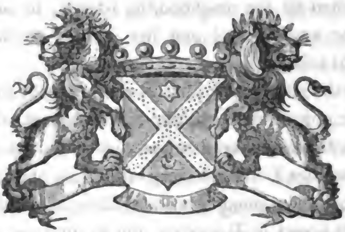

A French gentleman, M. A. Hapdé, chevalier of the legion of honour, who has published a pamphlet on the subject of this voyage, has however intimated to me his opinion that the arms in question actually belonged to Captain de Langle, the commander of the *Astrolabe*, who was murdered at the Navigator's Islands.

Prior to my setting out for Paris with the relics, I read the following account of la Pérouse's expedition, which appeared first in a Paris paper of the 12th January, and was afterwards copied into the London Morning Chronicle of the 15th of that month.

Extract from the Morning Chronicle.

La Pérouse.—Captain Dumont d'Urville, commanding the *Astrolabe*, who was sent to look after the remains of the expedition under Pérouse, appears to *have found out* the spot where he was shipwrecked. It was on the south coast of the island of Vanekoro, and *not Malicolo*, that both ships were lost on the rocks, during a very dark night. The natives, questioned by an interpreter, declared that they saw an immense boat among the rocks, which was soon demolished, and swallowed up by the waves. About thirty of the people on board her escaped in the boat, and reached the island.

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On the following day they saw another large vessel, similar to the one they had seen the day before, sink on a regular shore, where the water was sixteen or eighteen feet deep. She remained a long time without being destroyed. All those who were on board her landed, and joining the first comers, built a small vessel out of the wreck of the one which had gone on the rocks. After six or seven months' labour, they left the island, according to the opinion most generally entertained. The precise spot of the shipwreck was not, however, pointed out by the natives. The present of a piece of new cloth made them favourably disposed, and then they pointed out a place, where, at the depth of three or four fathoms, anchors, guns, balls, and an immense quantity of pig and sheet lead, were discernible. The boat of the *Astrolabe* succeeded in weighing an anchor of eighteen cwt., a short gun, an eight-pounder, a pig of lead, and two brass swivels. Certain, *from these memorials*, that this was the spot where la Pérouse was wrecked, M. d'Urville caused a monument to be erected, with this inscription—"To the memory of la Pérouse and his Companions; the *Astrolabe*, March 4, 1828." A detachment of ten men marched round the mausoleum three times, and fired three rounds of musketry, while the ship fired a salute of 21 guns. After paying these pious honours to the manes of their illustrious countrymen, the crew of the *Astrolabe*, almost all ill, having escaped by a miracle the most dreadful danger, succeeded in reaching the Marianne Islands, where they were well received by the Spanish Governor, Don Jose Medinilla. They were at Amboyna July 18, 1828; on August 28, at Batavia; and on September 29, at the island of St. Maurice, whence the *Astrolabe* will return to Toulon, as soon as the crew has had that repose which is necessary after so many glorious toils.

I was surprised and grieved at the tenour of this communication, from which it certainly appeared that M. d'Urville was to be held up as

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the first discoverer of la Pérouse's fate, and of the evidences of the place of his shipwreck, and that no share in the credit of these "glorious toils" was to be allowed to myself or to the Government of India, whose successful exertions, and my previous visit to the same spot, and discovery of still more conclusive proofs, were thus entirely passed over.

But what had chiefly contributed to confirm me in the impression under which the above letter was written, was my knowledge of the efforts that had been made by those at Van Diemen's Land, who were envious of the fame I had acquired, to create a belief that the accounts I had given of la Pérouse's island were a fiction.

The consequence was, that I retorted on Captain d'Urville as the supposed author of the paragraph, who I *then* understood was at Toulon.

I have subsequently learnt, however, that Captain d'Urville had not yet returned to France, and was ignorant of the newspaper account in question. That, so far from endeavouring by such paragraphs to assume for himself the sole credit of the discovery at my expense, he had in all his correspondence with the minister of Marine candidly acknowledged my services, and my having been at Mannicolo six months prior to himself; and that, in consequence of this favourable opinion of my exertions, he had even, in compliment, named a cape on his chart after me.

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As such courtesy on his part merited a different return from me than that which the course pursued by the newspaper paragraph had unfortunately called forth, I gladly embrace this opportunity of doing justice to this enterprising navigator, whose labours have been the means of adducing the strongest corroborative proofs of the truth my discovery of the actual fate of la Pérouse.

THE END.

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APPENDIX.

PUBLIC OPINION IN THE EAST

ON THE SUBJECT OF

CAPTAIN DILLON'S VOYAGE,

AND OF

THE OPPOSITION AND ILL TREATMENT HE EXPERIENCED AT VAN DIEMEN'S LAND;

WITH

Testimonies of Approbation from the Asiatic Society of Bengal, at its successful Result.

I HAVE been prevailed on by the advice of several friends to print the following extracts from the public journals of Van Deimen's Land, New South Wales, and Bengal, regarding my voyage, as the best mode of shewing what are the opinions entertained on the subject in these distant countries, and of proving that the opposition, (I may rather say persecution) which I encountered in the outset, and which at one time threatened to prove fatal to the objects of the voyage, was condemned by the most enlightened and independent part of the community.

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Remarks on Captain Dillon's Treatment at Van Deimen's Land.

(*From the* Tasmanian, *May*, 3, 1827.)

We have published a report of the trial which has occupied so much discussion in the Supreme Court, against Captain Dillon, for an assault. We were much surprised to hear the Chief Justice state to the Jury, that the captain of this ship, belonging to the East-India Company, manned by the Company's officers, and fitted out as a discovery ship, was precisely similar to that of a merchant vessel from London to Van Deimen's Land. It may be true that the officers are not liable to be tried by martial law, but they will find, upon their return to Bengal, that they are liable to be tried under the Company's regulations, whose commission they hold. It does not follow, because a Jury have found Captain Dillon guilty of the assault, that the letter of Dr. Tytler may not be viewed in a different light by the Government at Bengal; and if it should be so considered, it is quite clear what must be the result.

The Government of Bengal has evinced the greatest anxiety respecting the object of this expedition, which has cost them about £15,000. We cannot, therefore, for a moment believe that the ship *Research* was considered by any member of the Marine Board as only fit for a rice hulk, and that she would be lost on the rocks of Tucopia; and to make such an assertion, which imputes a most criminal act on the part of the Bengal Government, would be one of the foulest libels ever published against it.

If the jury believed Dr. Tytler's letter to be true, and that Captain Dillon *was mad*, he ought, in our apprehension, to have been acquitted upon that ground; and if they believed the letter was *not* true, he was then entitled to an acquittal. From what fell from the Chief Justice, we expected the Jury would have found the facts specially; but, as it is, the verdict, and especially the sentence, excites a feeling of surprise.

We regret, for the sake of the objects of the expedition, so interesting to the civilized world, that the punishment had not been entirely of a pecuniary nature. The imprisonment of Captain Dillon for two months may destroy the expedition.

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SUPREME COURT.

The KING *on the Prosecution of Dr.* TYTLER, *against Captain* DILLON.

THIS case, which has occupied the attention of the court four days, and excited considerable interest, was for an assault and battery committed by the defendant on Dr. Tytler, on the 28th February last, and for confining him in prison up to the time of the arrival of the *Research* in the Derwent, on the 6th April last.

The facts which were proved by the examination of the prosecutor's witnesses, were as follows :—

Captain Dillon having acquired some information at the Malicolo Islands respecting the fate of Count La Pérouse, communicated the particulars of his discoveries to the Supreme Government of Bengal, in the month of October last. In the month of November, the subject engaged the attention of the Asiatic Society, when it was determined that the Society should solicit the interference of Government.

The Supreme Government of Bengal entered fully into the views of Captain Dillon and of the Asiatic Society; and, being firmly persuaded of the truth of Captain Dillon's statement, resolved to equip a vessel under Captain Dillon's command, for the express purpose of procuring authentic information respecting the fate of Count La Pérouse and his associates, and for the purpose of procuring scientfic knowledge. Dr. Tytler was appointed surgeon to the ship, botanist, &c. &c.

The Honourable East-India Company's surveying ship *Research*, having been selected by the Marine Board as being properly adapted for this expedition, was commissioned for the purpose, and Captain Dillon appointed to command her.

About a fortnight before the *Research* sailed, Captain Dillon, was taken ill, and reported by Dr. Tytler to the Marine Board at Bengal to be labouring under delirium. The Board having required a report upon the subject, and also as to the probability of the malady impeding the object of the expedition, Drs. Savage and Adam were called in, who reported that it was only a temporary illness caused by severe cold.

A few days before the ship sailed from Diamond Harbour, some dispute took place between Dr. Tytler and Captain Dillon, respecting the provisions to be allowed to Mr. Hillawick the dresser, in which the Doctor accused the Captain of ungentlemanly conduct, and quitted the table with some warmth. The matter in dispute was referred to the Marine

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Board, but no satisfactory explanation took place between the parties.

On the 23d January, the *Research* proceeded to sea, and on the following day the Doctor observed to Mr. Dudman, the third officer in the ship, that Captain Dillon was mad—that he was eating chips, which was indicative of madness. Mr. Dudman entered the conversation in his log, which was seen by the Captain a few days afterwards. A day or two afterwards the Doctor observed at the cuddy table, after dinner, in the presence of the officers of the ship, that the Captain was mad.

On the 27th January, the Doctor introduced at the dinner table some conversation respecting the ship *Research*. He observed that Commodore Hayes's opinion was, that the ship was only fit for a rice hulk; that she might slip down to Van Diemen's Land, but that she would go down in a gale of wind, or be lost on the rocks of Tucopia. Captain Dillon, highly offended at such observations being made in the presence of his officers, left the cabin.

The latitude and longitude were presented daily to Dr. Tytler, for which he had given a receipt merely signed "R. Tytler, M.D." On this day the receipt was signed "Recorder of Proceedings to the Supreme Government." This put Captain Dillon in a great rage; he abused Doctor Tytler, called him scoundrel, &c. &c., and threatened him, if he ever addressed language at the table similar to what he had done that day, which was calculated to intimidate his officers, he would have him tied to the capstan and give him five dozen. The Captain accused the Doctor of mutiny, loaded his fire-arms, &c.

On the evening of the 27th day of January, Doctor Tytler wrote a letter to the chief officer, stating that he considered his life in danger; that it was his decided opinion the Captain was mad, and throwing himself upon the protection of him and his brother officers. The original letter was shewn to the other officers, and to Captain Speck (a passenger). Not a word was said to Captain Dillon respecting this letter until the 28th of February (the day the assault took place). The original letter was sworn to have been returned by Mr. ——, to Dr. Tytler, about the 6th of February, and stated by Dr. Tytler to have been destroyed by him about six days afterwards, and no copy taken. Dr. Tytler however stated, *from memory*, that it was to the following effect:—

"*To the Chief Officer of the H. E. I. C. Ship Research.*

"Sir;—In consequence of the dreadful scene which occurred this afternoon, when Captain Dillon came to the door

of my cabin, and used threats merely for sending him a receipt for the longitude and latitude, signed in a manner which, by my instructions from Government, I am perfectly justified in employing; together with his raving about the mouldering bones of the late Sir David Ochterlony, and his correspondence with me for the last three days, I have not the smallest doubt, in my mind, as to his being in a state of mental aberration, which occasionally bursts forth into violent fits and frantic madness. I conceive it therefore to be an imperative act, and official duty in me, to communicate this my recorded opinions to you, the result having followed from over excitement and exposure, as I predicted it might to the Marine Board at Calcutta. I accordingly leave it to you to confer with your brother officers as to the proper steps to be taken in this case generally, for the preservation of the ship and the lives of all on board. I throw myself upon you and the officers for protection. My own life and that of my son I consider especially in danger, my being in the cabin next to him, and he having conveyed loaded fire-arms into his room for some purpose unknown. Captain Dillon ought now to be confined in his cabin, and take medicine, and be bled and purged, otherwise I fear his malady will increase and become permanent; and this I declare, before God, to be my solemn opinions communicated to you.

"I am, Sir, your most obedient servant,

(*Signed*) "R. Tytler, M. D."

"*H. C. Ship Research, at sea, January,* 1827."

Matters went on tolerably quiet until the 28th February, when a dispute between the chief officer and Mr. Dudman was referred to Captain Dillon. Upon that occasion, Mr. D. told the Captain there was a mutiny fore and aft the ship, and that if he had seen the Doctor's letter he would be satisfied of it. The Captain found from the chief officer, that the letter had been destroyed. He learnt from an officer that the copy made by him had also been destroyed; but he was informed that the Doctor had stated that he was mad, and that he ought to be confined to his cabin, and bled and purged profusely. Captain Dillon observed to his officers, that he must put a stop to this,—and went to the quarter-deck, laid his hand upon the Doctor's shoulder, put him under arrest, and sent him into his cabin. The Doctor remained under close arrest for two hours, during which time his arms were taken away. A letter was then read to him by the chief officer, informing him that he was at liberty to walk the decks as usual, but not to be allowed to hold any conversation with any officers of the ship. This permission was refused by the

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Doctor, and he remained for fourteen days, and was in fact under arrest at large up to the arrival of the ship in the Derwent.

The case for the prosecution lasted three entire days, viz. Tuesday, Thursday, and Friday; and on Saturday, Mr. Gellibrand addressed the Jury on behalf of Captain Dillon, in a speech of two hours, in which he animadverted upon the conduct of Dr. Tytler to the defendant, and his conduct in the witness-box. He exhorted the Jury to lay aside any prejudice which the unguarded expressions of Captain Dillon were calculated to produce on their minds, more especially as the prosecutor was an officer of their profession; that, in point of fact, all the causes of irritation, up to the 28th February, were only introductory to the matter in issue, which simply was—whether an assault had been committed on the 28th of February; and, if so, whether Captain Dillon was justified.—Mr. Gellibrand contended, that the representations made by Dr. Tytler to Mr. Dudman, the day after the ship sailed, that the Captain was mad—the repetition of the same sentiment at the cuddy table—and the introduction of a conversation respecting the ship, and the dangers of the rocks of Tucopia, were highly calculated to produce disunion between the officers and the Captain—to lessen his authority—and to produce, in the minds of the officers, that the Captain was unfit to have the command—that the officers were engaged upon an important discovery, fraught with danger, and where *fear* should be expelled from the minds of *all*. But that the defendant was only to be tried for his acts, which were as mild as the circumstances would admit, and were justifiable. He contended that the letter written by Dr. Tytler could not bear any other construction than an intimation to Mr. —— that the Captain was mad, and unable to command the ship, and that he (Mr. —) ought to take upon himself the command—that this construction was supported by the fact, that the letter was shewn to all the officers, but concealed from the Captain—that the original letter had been destroyed, and also the copy of it which had been taken—that at the time the purport of the letter was communicated to Captain Dillon, he was apprised of all these facts by his officers; and therefore, believing it was the wish of Dr. Tytler to represent him as mad, when no other person in the ship formed such an opinion, he was justified in putting Dr. Tytler under arrest, in doing which no violence was used; and that after two hours the Doctor was only under arrest at large. Mr. Dudman proved the report he made to Captain Dillon in the presence of the first officer, and that he considered the letter as an intimation that the Captain was mad, and ought to

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be confined to his cabin; and stated, that, if he had been chief officer, he would have acted upon it.

The Solicitor-general replied, upon the whole case, that the assault was clearly proved; that there was no sufficient justification; and that it was highly aggravated by the previous conduct of Captain Dillon.

The Chief Justice summed up to the Jury, that they were not to try this case by their notions of mutiny or martial-law; that, in point of fact, the ship in question was precisely similar to a merchant vessel trading from London to these colonies; and that the defendant had no more authority than the master of such a ship would have over his officers and crew. He observed, that the only points for the consideration of the Jury were—1st. Had an assault been committed; and then, had a justification been made out to their satisfaction? A justification might be made in two ways, either by the Doctor writing a letter to the officer representing the Captain to be mad, when he knew at the same time that he was not mad, and by that means dispossess the Captain of the command; or, by his representing what he believed to be true, but what was not so in fact; and that the defendant, at the time he put Dr. Tytler under arrest, believed the Doctor had made an untrue statement for the purpose of taking the command from him. The Chief Justice expressed his opinion that, in either of these cases, the justification had been made out, and the defendant would be entitled to a verdict; but upon the latter point, the Jury ought to be satisfied that the Captain called his officers together, and consulted them upon the subject, and took all proper means of informing himself upon the nature and contents of the communication made to the officers.

In either case, the Court was desirous the Jury should specially find the facts upon which their verdict should be founded.

The Jury retired for about an hour and a half, and returned the following verdict:—"*Guilty upon the 4th count.*
" The Jury are of opinion that Dr. Tytler should have exer-
" cised more discretion in introducing observations which he
" knew were irritating to the feelings of Captain Dillon."

Captain Dillon was then ordered to attend on Tuesday, to receive judgment.

On that day the Chief Justice shortly adverted to the facts of the case, and stated, that he considered it necessary to mark the conduct of the defendant, and, by that means, to prevent such conduct in future by masters of ships, either to officers or to passengers: and although it was true that no violence had been used, and that the prosecutor had been in close confinement only two hours, and under arrest at large

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for fourteen days; yet the facts of the case, in his opinion, manifested bad feeling, and were attended with circumstances of aggravation. The sentence of the Court was, that the defendant should be imprisoned two months in the gaol of Hobart Town, pay a fine of £50, and enter into sureties for good behaviour for twelve months.

(*From the* TASMANIAN, *May* 10*th*, 1827.)

WE have the satisfaction of informing the friends to science and humanity, that Captain Dillon, of the Honourable East-India Companys ship *Research*, has been this day liberated from gaol by his Excellency the Lieutenant-governor. Captain Dillon transmitted a memorial to the Lieutenant-governor on Thursday last, setting forth the objects of the expedition, and that a detention in Van Diemen's Land for two months would completely frustrate the humane intentions of the Supreme Government of Bengal, inasmuch as the monsoons would set in about the early part of September, and that he would therefore be under the necessity of despatching the *Research* to Calcutta, and the expedition be frustrated for the present. It is said that Captain Dillon, upon these grounds, memorialized the Governor to allow him to prosecute his voyage *instanter*, offering any security to return to Van Diemen's Land at its termination, and satisfy the judgment of the Court.

We believe that a memorial, to a similar effect, was signed by a great number of the respectable inhabitants of Hobart Town, and also one by the public officers of the Government. It is said that the reasons attached to some of the signatures to the latter paper, were considered by Captain Dillon to be personally offensive, and the memorial was not therefore transmitted.

The Executive Council sat yesterday, when, we believe, the matter was taken into consideration; and, in the evening, his Excellency was pleased to issue a warrant for the Captain's discharge.

We had intended to have offered some observations upon the severity of Captain Dillon's sentence, as compared with those which have hitherto been pronounced in the Supreme Court in assault cases, and some of them under very aggravated circumstances; but as such a measure might be painful to the feelings of some who have passed the *ordeal*, and, no doubt, wish the matter to be buried in oblivion; and as the *Research* will now proceed upon the expedition, we shall not pursue the subject.

We believe it was at one time in contemplation to have despatched the ship to the Malicolo Islands without the aid

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of Captain Dillon; but the chief officer having refused to take the command, and not one of the officers of the ship having any knowledge either of the islands or of the customs or language of the natives, the idea was abandoned; the fact is, that the success of the expedition rests entirely upon Captain Dillon. We hope his exertions will be crowned with complete success, and that the main objects of the expedition will not be in any way defeated by the detention of the ship at this port, or by the recent investigation. Dr. Tytler has quitted the *Research*, and proceeds in the *Albion* to Calcutta, to justify his conduct to the Supreme Government of Bengal. We hope he will be able fully and satisfactorily to explain the circumstances which have induced him to retrace his steps. We know that he carries with him some powerful letters in justification; but nevertheless we are of opinion, to use the words of the Editor of the *Sydney Gazette*, that he will, notwithstanding, "*come off second best*."

(*From the* TASMANIAN, *May* 17, 1827.)

THE report of the trial against Captain Dillon, in the government paper, is not only *ex parte*, but unjust to those concerned. After stating the whole case *for* the prosecution, the Editor says:—

"On Saturday morning, the counsel for the defendant addressed the Jury at considerable length. In alluding to Dr. Tytler's observations upon the vessel, which had given offence to Captain Dillon, the counsel chose to designate it 'dastardly conduct,' upon which Dr. Tytler left the court, and did not return during the remainder of the trial."

We think that it was due, not only to Dr. Tytler, but to all the parties, that *part* of a sentence, in a speech which occupied above two hours, should not have been thus intruded upon public notice, but that *all* which was in connection should have appeared. We did not advert to any of the observations made on either side; nor did we intend to do so, as our limits would not permit us to give the whole; but we feel bound to publish so much as relates to this particular expression.

Mr. Gellibrand, after adverting to the expressions used by Dr. Tytler at the cuddy table: "That it was Commodore Hayes' opinion that the ship *Research* was only fit for a rice hulk; that she might slip down to Van Diemen's Land, but that she would go down in the first gale of wind, or be lost on the rocks of Tucopia," said—

"If Dr. Tytler did believe that Captain Dillon was mad—and after the full statements laid before you as to Captain

Dillon's conduct, I would ask you, who is the individual that had driven him into a state bordering on insanity?—if it is true that the ship *Research* was a bad sailer—if it is true that she would not steer well—if it is true that she has been sent on a most dangerous expedition—if it is true that she is destined to proceed to the rocks of Tucopia, in search of the unfortunate La Pérouse—if it is true that *fear* should be banished from the minds of all who are engaged in such dangerous enterprises—if it is true that *fear* works imperceptibly, but powerfully, on the mind, and paralyzes the efforts of the body—the cuddy table was the *last* place to have introduced such topics, and Dr. Tytler was the *last* man who should have introduced them. The safety of the ship depends on the courage and confidence of those on board. If you had heard conversation like that used by Dr. Tytler, would you not have considered it a duty to put a stop to it? Would you not have gone further? If Captain Dillon had said to Dr. Tytler—That is language calculated to alarm my officers, and if you do not put an end to it, I will put you under arrest;" and if it had been persisted in, and Dr. Tytler had been put under arrest for it, I say he would have been fully justified. Could any thing have been more dangerous than this dastardly conduct—than the dastardly expression which fell from Dr. Tytler at that table?"

(*From the* AUSTRALIAN *of January* 4, 1828.)

The *Mauritius Gazette* of the 27th October, treats the finding by Captain Dillon, of what he seems to consider part of the sword of the unfortunate French navigator, La Pérouse, and the interpretations put upon the marks which it bore, in a cavalier manner:—

"Many an article (it says) has been published regarding an unexpected discovery which the English captain, Dillon, is thought to have made of the spot where La Pérouse perished, and all are agreed that it was on the island Malicolo the unfortunate event occurred. To prove this, among other remnants picked up by Captain Dillon among the islands of which Malicolo forms one, the shell of a silver-hilted sword is produced. On one side of this is an inscription, which has been translated into the initial letters corresponding with the name and title of La Perouse. A second mark has been set down for a P, surmounted by a crown. From a third have been detected the letters F M F, as much as to intimate none other than brother freemason *(franc-maçon-frere)*, and diametrically opposite this latter mark are others, which, to correspond properly, must be considered as emblems of ma-

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sonry. To make all perfect, a small anchor has been traced out in another part, and what stronger proof could be forthcoming of this remnant of a sword having once been the sword worn by a sailor?

This shell having excited so much speculative reasoning, was a short time ago despatched to the French Minister for naval affairs, who handed it to the Administrator of the Exchequer, to see what could be made of it. Well, the sword-handle has undergone a strict examination by competent heads, and what is their opinion of its bearings? Why, that the interpretations put upon its various marks are all false! Imprimis—they have found out that the motto which was tortured into the name, &c. of La Perouse, is not La Perouse, but being formed of five letters wreathed together, composes the word *Paris*. In the second place, that which had been decyphered a P crowned, is not a P, but a Q crowned, precisely the same mark which the corporation of goldsmiths agree in setting upon their assayed work. Thirdly, what were construed into mysterious symbols of masonry, are found to be of not greater nor lesser import than the stamp of the individual sword-maker who had attempted to represent a dagger in the middle of the letters F M F, which were intended to stand for the said maker's name, to wit, Francois Maximilien, Foncesse *(forbisseur)*, residing at the street La Pelleterie at Paris. And lastly, what was taken for (*un* petite ancre), a small anchor, is transformed to the head of an ape!"*

(*From the* SYDNEY GAZETTE, *Jan.* 4, 1828.)

It is now forty years (the 20th of the present month January), that the two French frigates *Boussole* and *l'Astrolabe*, commanded by M. de la Pérouse, anchored in Botany Bay; since which period no satisfactory tidings were ever obtained, until the ship *St. Patrick*, Captain Dillon, fell in with the sword-guard of the lamented and celebrated navigator; which simple circumstance has led to the termination of a research, at the spirited instance of the Honourable East-India Company, under an enterprising commander, that will render famous the name of Dillon, and elicit the grateful regards of the French nation towards the Honourable East-India Company, whilst the most distinguishing and substantial rewards will, as a matter of course, be showered upon the present adventurous commander of the Company's cruizer *Research*. In looking over the first volume of an old work,

* Such was the explanation given by the learned Doctor Tytler; and which explanation he resolutely swore in the court of Van Diemen's Land, to have been the cause of the Government of India having fitted out the expedition!

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entitled "*The Voyage of La Pérouse round the World in the Years* 1785, 1786, 1787, *and* 1788," we have encountered a very satisfactory document, which clearly demonstrates, that Captain Peter Dillon, upon the faith of the French Government, will be "rewarded, according to the importance of the service," he, the said Captain Dillon, has rendered mankind at large, and more especially the enlightened empire of Charles the Tenth. A single individual has accomplished, under the auspices, it is true, of the Honourable East India Company, that which the celebrated D'Entrecasteaux failed in accomplishing with two of the first vessels France could produce, and which were fitted up at enormous expense; independently of which the deepest interest has invariably been excited in the mind of every Frenchman, who has visited these seas for the last twenty or thirty years.

(*From the* SYDNEY GAZETTE, *Jan.* 14, 1828.)

Our eyes have beheld what no Editor, we are of opinion, has ever witnessed. Captain Dillon, of the Honourable East India Company's cruizer *Research*, has handsomely called at our office, and produced many of those relics which constitute a portion of the property belonging to that lamented navigator, whose destiny will ever be deplored. In our next number, we intend to present our readers with a list of all the articles which were procured by Captain Dillon at the Malicolo Islands, from the natives. The most simple glance at these articles are sufficient to stamp recognition upon the mind of the most sceptical.

(*From the* SYDNEY GAZETTE, *Jan.* 16, 1828.)

IN another part of our paper will be found the details of the various relics that were procured from the natives of the Manicolo Islands, belonging to the vessels under this unfortunate, but universally respected navigator. Our readers will conclude that we take more than ordinary interest in this affair, and they will be about right, especially when they ascertain, from the *Hobart Town Courier* of the 5th inst. that the accounts we have hitherto published of this interesting discovery, on the part of Captain Dillon, should be stupidly, not to say malevolently, negatived. However, as we are anxious that the world at large, and especially the French nation, should be satisfied, through the medium of our journal, of the reality of Captain Dillon's researches, we will extract the insidious article from the paper to which we have already alluded :—

" We copy the following from the *Sydney Gazette*, of the " 5th December; and although the account it contains seems

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" to be implicitly believed by our Sydney neighbours, we " must take the liberty of saying that we do not believe one " word of it. How Captain Dillon could write from New " Zealand, with his own hand, to a gentleman in this town, " which he has done, stating that the disorderly conduct of " his crew, the want of water, and loss of the season (for that " was Captain Dillon's great complaint, while detained here, " though we could never see any season or reason either to " prevent him from sailing straight to the Malicolo Islands " at any time), would compel him immediately to return to " Calcutta, without accomplishing any objects of the voyage; " and how he could be at the same time at Solomon's Island, " we cannot say. The enumeration, too, of the articles, " seems to proceed rather from the association of ideas aris- " ing in the mind, as the things that would likely be found, " than suggested by a relation of the circumstances that " would attend their recovery. If the account be true, it is " the driest way of relating so interesting a matter that we " have ever heard. The *Herald* afforded him an excellent " opportunity of writing by at large. The missionaries by that " vessel, we observe, say not one word of the discovery; " and although a fortnight transpired in Sydney after the " arrival of that vessel until the departure of the *Ephemiua* " for this place, not a word more had transpired respecting " it. If it be true, also, it negatives the discoveries which " Captain Dillon formerly made, respecting the Malicolo Is- " lands, and the information obtained from Martin Buchart, " which induced the East India Company to fit him out in " the *Research*. But the most ridiculous thing of all is the " inconsistency of Captain Dillon having made such a dis- " covery, and not proceeding direct to Calcutta, instead " of returning back to New Zealand."

After reading the above, had we not seen many of the articles enumerated in our present number, we might have been inclined to scepticism; but when we have actually beheld many of those relics, and handled them, and examined them, we have little difficulty in taking it upon ourselves to become pledged to the truth of all that we have stated on this interesting topic. The persoual invective thrown out against Captain Dillon, is characteristic of those who would wish to deprive him of that reward, and those honours to which he is so justly entitled. For his present elevation in life, Captain Dillon is indebted to industry, perseverance, and strong natural talents. We acknowledge that there is a species of manly daring about the discoverer of La Pérouse, which is not a feature in the composition of many of his order; but he seems to us to have been cut out for the work in which he has been engaged; and we only hope he may

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live to be crowned with those French laurels, of which some empty scribe or other would fain basely plunder him. We are not aware that Captain Dillon wrote to Hobart Town from New Zealand, on his return from the Manicolo Islands; indeed we are certain he did not; for it is a most singular circumstance, at the time it was first stated, in the early part of last month, in the Hobart Town *Courier*, that Captain Dillon had failed in his enterprise; upon the most diligent search we could not find that there had been any arrival from New Zealand at Van Diemen's Land. Captain Dillon might have written a letter from New Zealand, on his way to the Manicolo Islands, but most certainly not upon his return. However, this is an immaterial fact, though the reader will scarcely help smiling after what has been stated upon the subject at this clause in the above extract, namely, "the enumeration, too, of the articles seems to proceed rather from the association of ideas arising in the mind, as the things that would likely *be found*, than suggested by a relation of the circumstances that would attend the recovery?" Very fine, indeed! After we have seen, and handled, and examined many of the articles, and are as satisfied of their identity as if we had seen the immortal La Pérouse taking soup with the spoon out of the Roman Catholic silver dish that formed part of the relics adverted to If the editor of the *Hobart Town Courier* will abnegate our assertions herein, we only ask for a reference to another part of our present number; pledging ourselves, at the same time, to the accuracy and reality of the enumeration.

(*From the* SYDNEY GAZETTE, *Jan.* 18, 1828.)

Captain Dillon, it will be observed, upon a reference to our advertising columns, has thought proper, contrary to our suggestions we acknowledge, to reply to the abusive and defamatory articles with which that enterprising navigator has been honoured in the *Hobart Town Courier*. Whilst calling the attention of our readers to Captain Dillon's replication, the scientific world will not but observe how nearly the expedition had failed, owing to the vexatious delay which the *Research* had experienced in the sister colony. We do not pretend to enter into the merits of the differences that occurred between Captain Dillon and Doctor Tytler; but we really are of opinion, if the law report in the *Tasmanian* newspaper be correct, that the commander of the Honourable East-India Company's cruizer did not experience that line of conduct, (we say not upon whose part,) to which, under all the circumstances, he was entitled. We have much pleasure in stating, that several gentlemen, of the first consequence in the

colony, are thoroughly satisfied with the success which has distinguished Captain Dillon's enterprise. After the French government had expended hundreds of thousands in fitting out frigate after frigate for the last forty years, with the view of ascertaining the fate of La Pérouse, it has fallen to the lot of a single individual, under the auspices of the Honourable East-India Company, to effect that which combined distinguished talent and national exertion, failed in accomplishing. We must now, however, consign Captain Dillon to the consideration of that government, whom, we have no doubt, will amply reward him for all that he has suffered and effected in its cause. Indeed we should not be much surprised, if the Honourable East-India Company dispatched him to Europe in charge of those relics, at present in his custody; that the French government will at once give him the command of one of their frigates; and after naturalising, and otherwise munificently compensating him for his toils, direct Captain Dillon again to revisit the Pacific Ocean; as it does not appear very problematical to us, but he might, in such a character, and under such circumstances, yet succeed in discovering further particulars of the destiny of La Pérouse; since it is extremeiy probable, that the survivors of the two French ships, who left the Manicolo Islands in a small vessel that they had built, were a second and last time wrecked among the neighbouring islands in their new barque; and if any traces of those fearless but unfortunate mariners are yet discoverable, Captain Dillon is the man, above all others, that should be employed by the French government.

Administration of Justice in Van Diemen's Land.

To the Editor of the Sydney Gazette.

Sir; Having observed of late several paragraphs in the Hobart Town Courier, tending to prejudice me in the eyes of the public, and to injure my reputation with my friends, by insinuating that the object of my expedition has failed, and that this failure is attributable to me; and as I have every reason to suppose that these attacks have emanated from, or been instigated by, persons who, being themselves guilty, wish, by impugning my character, to escape under the shade of their false and malicious imputations, from that obloquy which their conduct so justly merits, and which surely awaits it: I shall feel particularly obliged by your insertion of the following correct law report, together with the editorial remarks immediately preceding it, extracted from the Tasmanian of May 3, 1827. It may be in the recollection of many, that the ship *Cumberland*, commanded and owned by

Captain Carns, arrived in the River Derwent (Van Diemen's Land) early in 1825, from England. On the passage out a dispute arose between a certain gentleman and a Doctor Crowder, which ended in the latter heartily horsewhipping the former, who did himself justice by instituting an action at law against the Doctor at Hobart Town, and recovered from him *fifty pounds* damages. A few days subsequent to that on which this assault was committed on board the *Cumberland*, the Captain, who was a leviathan skipper, observed the poor Doctor on the poop, and without any previous warning seized him by the back of the neck between the finger and thumb, and flung him upon the quarter-deck, breaking two of his ribs by the fall. For this assault, Doctor Crowder, seeing himself worsted in a legal prosecution by Mr.———, also sought reparation by the same means from the Captain, and recovered damages; but how much? *Forty shillings!* Now, reader, peruse the law report here presented to you, and determine, if you can, for I cannot, what degree of equality there exists between the decisions in the cases *Crowder* v. *Carns*, and *Tytler* v. *Dillon*. The one defendant in an unprovoked manner breaks two of the plaintiff's ribs, who recovers at the rate of twenty shillings per joint, and goes free; the other, after having previously received much provocation, and not until the safety of his ship was endangered, was obliged, in self-defence, to arrest and confine the plaintiff closely for *two hours*, who recovers fifty pounds damages! and obtains a further award of two months imprisonment against the defendant, and also compels him to enter into sureties to keep the peace, for acting in the maintenance of good order and discipline in the ship of which he was commander. I could not think that the latter decision was surreptitiously obtained by Dr. Tytler—no; the impartiality and caution of Chief Justice Pedder forbids the idea; but such was the award, and it has been delivered, no doubt, with a view to preserve from further assault, a man, who in the course of his life has been severely handled as many times as he has hairs on his head. This truly admirable trial cost me *five hundred and twenty-one pounds sterling!*

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

PETER DILLON.

January 16*th* 1828.

(*From the* SYDNEY GAZETTE, *Jan.* 23, 1828.)

We are quite amazed, after we had succeeded in proving to the colonial world, that the enterprize in which Captain Dillon, of the Hon. East-India Company's cruiser *Research*, has been

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crowned with the most undoubted success, that one of our contemporaries should at last deign to follow in our wake, and bespatter Captain Dillon with its empty praise. If the *Monitor*, or any other colonial journal, had possessed proper feelings towards Captain Dillon, they would long since have come forward with their support, and with their meed of praise; but no, not one of them would give this gallant and enterprising man the least credit for having solved the mystery of almost half a century, in dragging to the face of day, —in extracting from the bowels of the deep,—in rescuing from the hands of savages those valuable relics, which are lamentable guarantees of the hapless destiny of the immortal Count La Pérouse. We are not sorry that any of our contemporaries begin to awaken from those slumbers into which they had fallen on so interesting a theme; one that will attract the attention, and enkindle the liveliest interest, of Europe, Asia, Africa, and America; and we, who happen to be in the fifth part of the globe, for such Australasia is termed by some of the geographers of the present day, are the first to feel interested in so important a discovery. We say we do not regret our contemporaries doing justice to Captain Dillon, but it would have been a little more opportune, and perhaps equally as liberal, if not much more honourable to their character as faithful journalists, had their feeble commendation not been so late in the day. *We* feel that we have established the enterprising and maritime character of Captain Dillon, upon a basis which needs not the support of any subsidiary journal.

(*From the* Sydney Gazette, *Jan.* 25, 1828.)

The *Research*, though at so great a distance from the town, is daily thronged with visitors; who are laudably anxious to witness and examine those remains of the wreck of the two French ships, under the command of the unfortunate La Pérouse. Captain Dillon has a cabin set apart, as a depository of those valuable articles, which, the moment they are seen, strike conviction into the mind of the most sceptical, and satisfy all those who are privileged to examine them, of their undoubted identity, as forming a part of the wrecked ships. Of all the articles that chiefly engaged our attention, that of the decayed part of the stern was most interesting. It is impossible for any one, whilst beholding that piece of decayed timber, not to be occupied with the most interesting thoughts. The mind is insensibly led to a retrospection of forty years, and the wood itself wears all the appearance of forty years old. The *fleur-de-lis* are very plain, and there can be no doubt, but the piece of timber formed a part of the ornamental work of the stern of one of

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the ships, though whatever gold might have been upon it has vanished during the vicissitudes of nearly half a century. We have a small piece of this decayed relic, which we took the liberty of seizing upon, for the purpose of placing it amongst numberless other curiosities that we intend to hand over to the Colonial Museum, as soon as it is organized. We hope Captain Dillon will not prosecute us for the larceny, as we acknowledge it was any thing but given. It appears to us to be a piece of fir, and must have been, from that circumstance, purely ornamental. We confess we could not manage to secrete the bell, with the word "*Bazin m'a fait*," that is, "Bazin made me," else we should much like to have enriched the contemplated Museum with that article also; but we have no doubt that, with hundreds of others also, it will be recognized by some of the old Frenchmen, who may have been fortunate enough to have escaped the guillotine æra, or the conscriptions of the immortal Napoleon. The broken China betrays all the antiquity of our first parents, and one might naturally suppose that Adam and Eve had often participated in the luxury of a comfortable cup of tea, from the circumstance of these articles being without the pale of any thing we can recollect. The pattern is old-fashioned, and the shape and thickness are as old-fashioned as the culinary articles, of which we never saw such patterns before; indeed if we had seen La Pérouse himself. we should not be more convinced of the reality of these articles having been on board the ships which he commanded. The silver bottom of the candlestick, the sword handle, the silver salver, the Spanish dollar, are all indubitable proofs of the fate of this regretted navigator. From the French gentleman on board the *Research*, who seems to be in every sense of the word a perfect gentleman, we were casually informed that the utmost praise is due to Captain Dillon, for the coolness, intrepidity, and skill, which he displayed at the island of Mannicolo, as it was with the greatest difficulty, and unabated attention, that the *Research* was saved from being lost on some of the many reefs, which render the island dangerous to approach. Captain Dillon's attention to his crew, too, at the time when sickness and death began to stare them in the face, was more like that of a *pater familiaris*, than that of a tyrannical and imperious commander. The reefs were carefully examined, and correctly laid down by Captain Dillon, though the latitude and longitude of Mannicolo continue a secret, but which, no doubt, at a future day, will be exploded, with many other interesting facts appertaining to this expedition—one that has been crowned with such extraordinary success, and one that will not fail to diffuse universal interest throughout the civilized and scientific world. Captain Dillon has

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certainly conferred honour upon the Honourable Company of which he has proved himself so enterprising and valuable a servant; and, if any man is entitled to praise for elevating himself by merit, we feel satisfied Captain Dillon merits all the commendation that we can tender him; and we only hope that propitious breezes may quickly waft the *Research* to her destined haven.

Remarks of the Editor of the New South Wales Monitor, Jan. 21, 1828.

A LATE trial at Hobart Town, has not at all tended to correct our fears for the wisdom of Colonel Arthur and Judge Pedder's administration of the sister isle. The *Sydney Gazette* of Wednesday last has published a report, copied from one of the Hobart Town newspapers, called *The Tasmanian*, (a journal edited by a loyal barrister of the Supreme Court of Van Diemen's Land), of a trial there, *Rex* (on the prosecution of R. Tytler, M.D.) *versus* Peter Dillon, Esq. commander of the Honourable East-India Company's cruiser the *Research*. This last gentleman, the world has lately been informed, has been supplied by the princely Company in question, with a vessel, fitted out at an immense expense, to proceed upon an expedition, whose object warms the hearts of the brave, and fires the imagination of the romantic; we say, the enviable commander of this expedition, raised to his present post of honour by the force of his own talents and enterprise, for placing his surgeon in close arrest two hours, and in open arrest, or *in confinement at large*, for the rest of the voyage, had a sentence passed upon him by Judge Pedder, of two months' confinement in the common gaol, besides being fined in the sum of £50.

The *Sydney Gazette*, our government official newspaper, has announced these facts to the public of New South Wales; where, thanks be to God, and honour be to Chief Justice Forbes, there is yet a free press to record the wisdom and the folly, the virtues and the vices, of our Australian and Tasmanian authorities respectively.

By the report of the trial in question, the public are informed, that the surgeon of the *Research*, Dr. Tytler, was so forgetful of the discipline of a ship, of his duty as an officer, and of his own character as a gentleman of common prudence, feeling, and courtesy, as to tell Captain Dillon, at his own table, in the presence of his officers, where a man likes the least to be made to look little, that his vessel, the *Research*, had been pronounced by a naval gentleman in India, "fit only for a rice hulk; and that she would go down in a gale of wind, or be lost on the rocks of Tucopia."

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We do conceive, that to speak to a man at his own table, and in the presence of his officers, in such contemptuous terms of his vessel (a matter in which all commanders take a pride, from the Duke of Clarence down to the master of a humble schooner), is equally unwarranted, uncalled-for, impertinent, and in every respect, ungentlemanly. Captain Dillon, it seems (which we almost wonder at), did not strike Dr. Tytler for the language he used: he merely left the table under powerful feelings of indignation. The next day, Dr. Tytler took upon himself a new *title*, if not a new office; he now styled himself, at the foot of a certain document, which he had been in the habit of signing diurnally, "*Recorder of Proceedings to the Supreme Government.*" This act, to say the least, was very ill-timed. It of course put Captain Dillon into extreme rage. In the midst of his paroxysm, he called for his pistols, accused the Doctor of mutiny, and told him, if he ever dared to lower him in the eyes of his officers again, by speaking of "rice barges and Tucopia rocks," as he had done the preceding day, he would have him chastised.

This language cannot be defended. It was beyond Dr. Tytler's insolence. Still however, considering the previous provocation, we do not think that it at all justified the letter which Dr. Tytler wrote the evening of the same day, and which the Doctor acknowledged on the trial.

As Captain Dillon's subsequent conduct clearly proved his anger and expressions were not, as Doctor Tytler insinuated in this letter, the effect of a *diseased mind*, but the mere temporary ebullitions of nervous irritability, we cannot consider the said letter in any other light than direct mutiny. In the first place, it was holding out a very powerful temptation to the officer, the artful knave would have rejoiced to slip into the enviable post filled by Captain Dillon; and if such an one's villainy had been seconded with a sufficient degree of courage and address by the other officers, we have little doubt Captain Dillon would have died on board in confinement under the insult, (for a little would kill such a man as Captain Dillon in a hot climate), or have been landed in Van Diemen's Land, a *real* lunatic; there to end his days, the victim of mischance and treachery.

Some time before the voyage was concluded, a quarrel occurring on board between the first-officer and Mr. Dudman, the latter informed Captain Dillon, there was a mutiny going on in the ship, *fore and aft;* and for proof appealed to the above letter: which being inquired for, was found to have been destroyed. Captain Dillon then observed to his officers, "I must put a stop to this;" and accordingly, putting his hand on the shoulder of Dr. Tytler, he ordered him into close arrest. At the end of *two hours*, however, Captain Dillon,

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on hearing that the danger of mutiny was not so great as Mr. Dudman had represented, sent word to Dr. Tytler he might walk the decks as usual; but was thereafter "to hold no conversation with the officers of the ship."

Now, for our part, we do not see how Captain Dillon could have acted with more mildness. We heard Chief Justice Forbes say the other day, that if a commander really thought, and had *fair occasion* to think, a mutiny was on foot, he had a right to inflict punishment on his crew. Of course, we should imagine, *arrest* is the proper punishment of an *officer*, who gives like "fair occasion" to a *sane* commander to believe he, the mutineer, wishes to oust him of his command from malicious or other sinister motives, by pretending that he is a lunatic! Let every man put himself into Captain Dillon's situation, and say how he would like to be divested of the command, and treated as a madman on board his own ship, merely because he had been angry; and when subsequent events proved he was just as, and perhaps in fact more sane, than his accuser.

Yet for this arrest was Captain Dillon immured in the common gaol of Hobart Town, where convicts are confined, and made to pay £50; the law-suit costing him altogether (as must have been known to the judge in some measure), the enormous sum of £500! A sum which in itself was a most grievous punishment for Captain Dillon's offence (supposing him to have committed one). But we trust those who appointed Captain Dillon to the command, will not allow him to lose this sum.

Colonel Arther did not allow Captain Dillon to remain in goal more than eight days; which act would have been well substituted, by his granting him a remission altogether of the imprisonment; however delicate he might have felt towards the judge in the affair.

On the whole, we shall learn no more to feel surprised at the decisions of the Supreme Court of Van Diemen's Land; so long at least as Judge Pedder presides there, and Colonel Arther continues Lieutenant-governor.

The base, servile, licensed press of Van Diemen's Land, we see, is now exerting its chained tongue and puny voice, to villify Captain Dillon, and cast a slur on his late delightful discovery. But the records of Paris, and of the arsenals of France, will soon put to silence the barkings of a degenerate enslaved press, that makes Van Diemen's Land a disgrace to the English name, and the derision of this quarter of the globe.

(*From the* NEW SOUTH WALES MONITOR, *Jan*. 28, 1828.)

It is evident that the hostility of the *Gazette* to his contemporaries arises not altogether from political hostility, but

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from envy, hatred, and malice, &c., and the dislike of seeing other shops besides his own in the trade. Because, if it did arise from honest public feeling, he would not, when they happened to agree with him in sentiment, sneer, and grin, and shew his teeth. We knew Captain Dillon *fifteen years ago;* but as he had communicated with the editor of the Sydney Gazette, we did not like to interfere, till that editor had done with the subject. The late trial at Hobart Town, and the conduct of Colonel Arthur and Judge Peddar, coupled with our hearty acquiescence with Mr. Howe's support of Captain D., at length induced us to take up the subject, thinking that the worthy commander in question would not be injured by some other than the Government Journal advocating his cause. Having done so, if Mr. Howe's friendship for Captain Dillon had been as sincere as our own, he would have felt gratified with our remarks. But no—the man's views are evidently sinister; for, in lieu of expressing his satisfaction in noticing our intentions towards Captain D., he uses the following unworthy expressions, and which we offer as another proof that the *Gazette* is read "for its absurdity."

"We are quite amazed, after we had succeeded in proving to the colonial world, that the enterprize in which Captain Dillon, of the H. E. I. C. cruiser *Research*, has been crowned with the most undoubted success, that one of our contemporaries should at last deign to follow in our wake, *and bespatter Captain Dillon with its empty praise.* If the *Monitor*, or any other colonial journal, had possessed proper feelings towards Captain Dillon, they would long since have come forward with their support, and with their meed of praise; but no, not one of them, &c. &c."

The remains of the ill-fated *Astrolabe* are now packed up, and stowed away in the hold of the *Research*, which sails to-morrow for Calcutta. Captain D. has certainly manifested a very contrary disposition in New South Wales, to that represented by Dr. Tytler and others at Van Diemen's Land. His courtesy to strangers in exhibiting the many curiosities, and his affability in their repeated exhibition in detail for the gratification of the public, have been great. The worthy Captain gave an entertainment on the evening of Wednesday, and succeeded each toast with the report of his guns.

(*From the* Calcutta Government Gazette, *April* 10, 1828.)

La Pérouse.—The results of Captain Dillon's voyage in search of vestiges of La Pérouse, are calculated, we learn, to

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clear up, in the most unequivocal manner, all uncertainty with regard to the fate of that able and regretted navigator. A full report of Captain Dillon's proceedings has, we understand, been prepared, which may possibly be committed to press hereafter, as containing much novel and important matter, regarding the tracts he has visited. We have not yet seen the report, nor have we been favoured with any written documents relating to the voyage; but we have collected from other sources the following general outline.

On quitting Van Diemen's Land, Captain Dillon touched at Port Jackson, to endeavour to procure a person to accompany the expedition as naturalist. Being disappointed in this object, he sailed to New Zealand, where he had some difficulty in preserving his passengers, the young New Zealand chief and his attendant, from the maws of his countrymen; the tribe in the Bay of Islands being at war with the tribe to which those persons belonged, and having lately sustained a defeat with the loss of one of their chiefs. Captain Dillon was, however, able to secure the personal immunity of his guests, without exciting the angry passions of the hostile savages. From New Zealand Captain Dillon proceeded to Tonga-ta-bou. Here, also, he heard of the French vessel the *Astrolabe*, which was upon a voyage of research in the same direction. From Tonga Captain Dillon sailed to Tucopia, where he obtained a pilot to Mannicolo. Having made this place, he continued there several days, examining the vicinity, and communicating with the natives; whose information corroborated that procured on his former voyage, of the wreck of two large ships many years ago on the south of the island, the escape of part of the crew, and their construction of a small vessel, in which they finally took their departure. The island, which is about twenty miles in either direction, is completely hemmed in by a rampart of coral reefs, at some distance from the land. Between the reefs and shore is deep water, and several bays on the coast form commodious harbours. There are occasional openings in the coral belt, through which vessels may enter; but they can only be discovered by careful search, and a ship standing towards the island, unaware of the existence of the reef, is in great danger of being lost, as was the case with Pérouse's ships. The natives point out the spot on the southern reef, where one struck and sunk, and where the other was brought up, which enabled the people to save their lives, and gave them the means of building their cutter. In proof of the accuracy of their traditions, the natives produced various articles evidently of European and French manufacture, as the bottom of a silver candlestick, the handle of a silver sword, a silver ewer, and other things; but the satisfactory

evidence was obtained from the reef itself, where articles too ponderous to be removed by the natives were found by Captain Dillon himself. These were brass guns, part of the ship's stern, the iron tiller, and two ship's bells, one bearing the inscription *Bazin m'a fait*. The guns are numbered, and the numbers will no doubt lead to their verification in France, as well as the inscription on the bell. Although therefore Captain Dillon has not been so fortunate as to meet with any of the survivors of the wreck, he has earned the credit of determining a question of great interest to humanity and science, and will have his name for ever associated with the recollection of La Pérouse.

(*From the* Bengal Hurkaru, *Friday, April* 11, 1828.)

From the *Sydney Papers* we insert another extract relative to Captain Dillon's expedition, and shall to-morrow republish from them, a list of the numerous articles which he has brought here in the *Research*, in proof of the complete success of it, in so far as respects the elucidation of the sad fate of the lamented French navigator, and his brave companions. The skill and enterprize and indefatigable perseverance of Captain Dillon, in bringing the expedition to such an issue, reflect infinite credit upon himself, and shed lustre on the national character.

A French national vessel, the *Astrolabe*, had arrived at the Derwent before Captain Dillon left Sydney, and he waited some time at that place in the expectation of her arrival there. She is commanded by a distinguished scientific officer; but in so far as regards the fate of his countryman La Pérouse, he is already aware that little is left for him to do, but to verify perhaps by further examination the discoveries which Captain Dillon has made.

(*From the* Calcutta Government Gazette, *May* 8, 1828.)

Captain Dillon, we understand, proceeds in the *Mary Anne* to England, in charge of the relics which he collected at the islands of Manicolo and Tucopia, or, as pronounced by the natives, Tuccopeea.

It is a curious fact that the discovery of the wreck of La Pérouse's ships arose out of a massacre at the Fejee Islands, in 1813. The particulars of this massacre were published in the Government Gazette of the 6th of February 1817; but as few of our readers may recollect the circumstance, we repeat them here.

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Massacre at the Fejee Islands.

From Mr. Dillon, master of the *Elizabeth* cutter, which sailed from hence in November last, as tender to the ship *Hunter*, Captain Robson, we receive the melancholy information of a number of persons being unhappily cut off by the natives of an island called Highlya, among whom were three youths belonging to this colony, with whose parents and relatives we most sensibly lament their premature destiny. The ship arrived at the above islands for the purpose of procuring sandal-wood, &c. the 19th of February, and was not joined by the cutter, which had sailed from hence before her, till the 1st of May. In the course of duty, the vessels were frequently from 50 or 60 miles apart; and by the beginning of September had procured a cargo of about 150 tons of sandal-wood, and 2 tons of *beche de mar*, which the *Hunter* has taken on with her to Canton. On the neighbouring island of Bough several Europeans and other strangers had for some time resided in very social habits, and assisted in procuring the cargo. These persons were Charles Savage, John Graham, Michael M'Cave, Terence Dunn, Joseph Atkinson, William Williams, two Lascars, a Chinaman, and an Otaheitan. These persons had done considerable service to the natives of that island, and were upon that account much disliked by the Highlyans, with whom they were frequently at war.

About the 4th of September, a letter was received on board the cutter from Mr. Norman, chief officer of the ship, which was then about 40 miles distant, informing the people that a plot had been formed to cut them off first, as all the Europeans, except himself and Captain Robson, were with the cutter, and afterwards fall upon the ship, which was manned with Lascars only. On receipt of this information, eight of the natives who were considered the most forward in the design were made prisoners and sent on board. The ship in the mean time got aground, lost her false keel, and sustained much other injury. The cutter likewise had been several times aground, and for the safety of the crews it was considered necessary they should both be hove down and repaired. The friendly natives of Bough represented the step as dangerous, as long as the Highlyans were in possession of their numerous canoes, with which they could attack them at pleasure in very large numbers, and therefore advised the capture of their canoes. The appearance, shortly after, of a fleet of not less than 150 well-manned canoes, seemed to justify the proposed measure; the fleet was attacked accordingly, and 14 canoes taken, in performing which, one native of Highlya was unfortunately killed. Four of the canoes

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belonging to the chief of Myanboor were restored to him, as he had no concern in the conspiracy. While the assault upon the canoes was performing by the cutter, Mr. Norman had been no less active with the ship's people in setting fire to a native town, comprising about 50 huts, one-half of which they destroyed.

The next morning (Sept. 6) the cutter and ship, in company, got all clear to heave the cutter down; previous to effecting which, the Bough natives strongly exhorted the captain and officers to go on shore again, and take the remainder of the canoes, to prevent being attacked by them; and the advice was unfortunately approved. The vessel's boats were manned without delay, and the people landed, under no expectation that the inhabitants of the town had been reinforced.

The tide was now too low to get off the canoes: a number of natives, who shewed themselves, insulted the assailants with shouts and gestures, and in a passionate moment several huts were set on fire. The people from the vessels, unconscious of their danger, were separated into straggling parties; and lo! in an instant, as if by some signal given, they were on all sides surrounded by at least eight thousand armed men, assembled from all parts of the coast, possibly with intent to attack the vessels. Six of the Europeans, among whom were Mr. Norman, M'Cave, and Graham, confounded at the change, threw down their muskets and ran towards the boats—but were intercepted, and massacred with spears and clubs. Nine others, among whom was Mr. Dillon (who reports this tragical event) collected themselves, with a determination to resist as long as they were able. They made for the summit of a hill near the sea, and six reached the top, but left three of their companions on the way, dead or dying of their spear and arrow wounds. As they were now beyond the reach of spear and stones, and by a high wind providentially shielded from the arrows, whole flights of which were blown out of their destructive course, they defended themselves with their muskets, the dread of which deterred their opponents from any attempt to ascend the hill; and in this hopeless state having continued several hours, a priest ventured to approach them with friendly gestures, and was welcomed up. The business of his mission was to promise them security, provided they would release the eight natives who were prisoners in the vessels. Gladly consenting to this proposition, one of the Europeans accompanied the priest, who was of the highest order and consideration, down to the boats; he went on board, and the eight natives were released accordingly; but during this interval two of the Europeans were by pacific signs and declarations induced to quit the

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summit of the hill, and to go down among them, against the advice of Mr. D. and his two remaining companions; who after refusing to follow his example, had the mortification to see those also perish beneath the weight of innumerable weapons. The defenders of the hill being so reduced in number, were now furiously assaulted with stones and arrows upon all sides; but the muskets still kept them at a distance. After about four hours the priest, followed by the eight natives, appeared in view, and hostilities were again suspended. They went up the hill, and proffered to conduct Mr. Dillon and the two remaining companions in safety to their boats, provided they would suffer them to carry their muskets. This proposal, after their treacherous murder of the two who had inconsiderately ventured down among them, they would not at all accede to; and while the priest was haranguing on the policy of a compliance, Mr. Dillon got behind him, and pressing the muzzle of his gun close behind his back, commanded him to proceed in a direct line for the boats, threatening him with instant death if he either hesitated, or if any of his people should attempt to attack them or impede their passage. The priest proceeded as directed; and as he passed along, thought it prudent to remind his countrymen that he was their chief divinity, and that if, through any rash act of theirs, he should lose his life, destruction would fall upon them all. By a well-timed presence of mind, these three persons got safely to one of the boats, and were happy in once more gaining their vessels—an event which a few minutes before was beyond the reach of hope. Next morning, the 7th, a party went on shore with a considerable property to offer a ransom for the bones of their late ill-fated companions—but, alas! not one could be produced; and the wretched cannibals replied to the request, that *they had been devoured the night before!*

All the persons whom we have already mentioned as living among the natives of Bough lost their lives in the melancholy contest, as did also Mr. Norman and Mr. Cox, officers; Hugh Evans, seaman; and a Lascar named Jonno, belonging to the vessel; in all fourteen persons. The same day (the 7th) they left the dreadful place, and kept company as far as the New Hebrides, where they (the *Hunter* and *Elizabeth*) parted, the 22d ult.

Captain Dillon's two remaining companions, who escaped with him, were William Wilson and Martin Bushart. If Bushart and the Lascar, who also took refuge on board the *Hunter*, had returned to the island, they certainly would have been sacrificed, and under this impression they besought Captain Robson to give them a passage to the first land he fell in with, in the prosecution of his voyage to

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Canton. Having finally left the Fejees on the 12th of September, the *Hunter* made land on the 20th, which proved to be the island of Tuccopeea, in lat. 12 deg. 15 min. south, and east long. 169 deg. Here Bushart and a Lascar, with his wife a Fejee woman, requested to be put ashore, and they were accordingly left, and the ship pursued her voyage.

In 1826, returning from Valparaiso, in the *St. Patrick*, Capt. Dillon came in sight of Tuccopeea, and curiosity prompted him to heave-to off the island, and ascertain whether the persons left there in 1813 were still alive. Both Martin Bushart and the Lascar appeared; when an old silver sword-guard, in possession of the latter, led to inquiries which terminated in the discovery of the relics obtained from the wreck of Pérouse's vessels on the coral reefs which surround Manicolo. Thus it is to the circumstance of Bushart and the Lascar having escaped the massacre at the Fejee Islands, and being accidentally landed at Tuccopeea, that we are indebted for the information industriously collected by Captain Dillon.

Letter from the Secretary of the Assiatic Society of Bengal, to Captain Dillon.

SIR;—I am desired by the Asiatic Society to acknowledge the donation made by you, of various articles of interest, from New Zealand, Tucopia, Manicolo, and other islands in the same direction.

The number and value of the articles presented, entitle you, in the opinion of the Society, to more than ordinary acknowledgement, especially marking in the most indisputable manner, the interest you have taken in the objects of the Society, and the active zeal with which you have accumulated accessions to their Museum, illustrative of the state of society amongst the South Sea Islanders.

Although not called upon to express my opinion upon the great purpose of your voyage, the discovery of relics of the wreck of Count La Pérouse, the Society have thought it incumbent upon them to institute such an examination, as the period of your further stay in Calcutta will permit; a Committee has been accordingly nominated to inspect the articles, and report upon their probable origin, at the next general meeting. A copy of their report will be forwarded to you in England.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

H. H. WILSON,

Calcutta, May 10, 1828. *Sec. As. Soc.*

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Report of the Committee of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, on the Relics procured at Manicolo.

THE Committee of the members of the Asiatic Society, appointed to inspect and report upon the articles brought by Captain Dillon, as remains of the vessels commanded by Count La Pérouse, assembled accordingly at the Society's Rooms, on Friday the 9th instant, at seven o'clock.

The articles were found to conform in general to the list furnished by Captain Dillon, and by their character and quantity furnish indubitable indications of the loss of some vessel or vessels in the vicinity of the places where they were found, or the islands designated by Captain Dillon as Tuccopeea and Manicolo.

It is also highly probable, from the presence of the fleur-de-lis on various articles, from the bell inscribed 'Bazin ma, fait,' from the piece of timber which seems to have been the ornamented back-board of a large boat, from the sword-hilt, which is of the same pattern as the guard pronounced in Paris to be of French manufacture, and from the make of the guns, that the vessel or vessels were French.

It is impossible to arrive at the positive conclusion, that the articles were derived from the wreck of the *Astrobale* and *Boussole*; but it is not known that any other French ships have ever been lost amongst the South Sea Islands, and there are several circumstances in favour of the supposition.

The calibre of the guns, of which three are 2⅛ in., and one 1⅝ in., correspond severally to the description of the brass guns given in a French Journal, entitled *Annales Maritimes et Coloniales for April and May* 1827, which specifies their carrying shot of 1 lb. and ½ lb.; we believe that the calibre of these guns is not noticed in the account of Pérouse's voyage.

The articles called brass sheaves of top-masts in Capt. in Dillon's list, appear to be those of a purchase-block for heaving down a ship, and are not usually supplied to vessels except when they are engaged in distant voyages.

The articles described in Captain Dillon's list as a circular plate of brass, part of some nautical instrument, and a brass circle belonging to an azimuth compass, are parts of a theodolite: an instrument not likely to be found on an ordinary trading vessel, and one with which Pérouse's ships were supplied, as appears from the list of scientific instruments published in the account of his voyage.

The list of articles provided as presents, in the same account, specifies large quantities of bar and bolt iron, and china-ware coloured and gilt: fragments of the latter, which appear to have been partly gilt, are amongst Captain Dillon's collection, and the iron bolts are of some size and number.

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There are other considerations of a similar nature, which it is unnecessary here to detail. Those already pointed out, combined with the history of Pérouse's loss, and the circumstances of the discovery of the articles collected, seem to us to authorize the conjecture that they are derived from the source to which they have been assigned by the discoverer. It will, however, without doubt, be easy to determine the question in France, and the manufacture of the bell and the brass guns, the latter of which bear double numbers, will be promptly identified. Whatever may be the result, the articles prove that the expedition to discover vestiges of La Pérouse was not undertaken without some grounds of reasonable hope that the fate of the navigator would be ascertained. The collections made with this view, and also for the extension of the Society's Museum, are highly creditable to the activity and zeal of Captain Dillon.

(*Signed*) J. Bryant, *Col.*
J. Atkinson,
J. Vaughan, *Col.*
H. H. Wilson, *Sec. As. Soc.*
C. C. Egerton,
J. A. Hodgson, *Col., Surv. Gen.*
J. Adams, M.D.
J. Calder,
F. Jenkins,
J. Kyd, *Master Ship-builder to Hon. Com.*

Members of the Asiatic Society appointed to inspect the articles brought by Capt. Dillon, as remains of the wreck of Pérouse, and report at the next meeting of the Society their opinions of the probable source from whence they were derived.

(*True Copy.*) H. H. Wilson, *Sec. As. Soc.*

Calcutta May 9, 1828

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